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THE

POLITICAL PRIMER;

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OR,

ROAD TO PUBLIC HONOURS.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

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PREFACE.

WHEN a young man of birth and fortune takes leave of the University, and sets out in the career of life, he should ask himself these questions:—Have I ambition? or taste, and talent? or a love of military reputation? or the patience and good-humour of a well-meaning country magistrate? or am I fit for nothing but to be a patron of prize-fighters, a saunterer, or a dandy?

To those who feel that they possess ambition, the following pages are addressed: their object is to place before the view of aspiring and inexperienced minds, the road to public honours in a nation like Great Britain. They are supposed to have but just shut up their classics and ethics, and to have their minds imbued with all those disinterested and exalted notions, which arise from an academic education.

Such notions will not serve their purpose, when they begin the career of public life in England. They must bestow upon themselves a new education, derived from observation and experience, and learn to see man in society, not as he is described by poets and philosophers, but as he actually exists in their own country—with his vices and meannesses, as well as the superior qualities that distinguish the people of Great Britain.

Many young men are from their station independent of popular arts, and may pursue a course in Parliament like that of a Peer; but he who depends on influence rather than power,—upon personal friendships and the support of a party—whose fortune is good, not great—and whose supporters connect his entrance into Parliament with their own objects,—he should at once put on the harness of his profession, and consider men his instrument, on whose feelings and prepossessions he must learn "to play as on a pipe, and sound what stop he please." For whether he obtain the suffrage of the ladies by his grace and elegance,—divert a mob from the hustings—delight his audience by convivial talents after dinner—or call forth the envied "Hear" of the House,—it is the same art he exercises; that of forming the natural impulses of others into a ladder for his ambition.

He should, however, carefully consider, before he

enters on the career of public life, whether his character is capable of the perseverance which can alone command success. He will be happier in domestic life; and even if he should attain the objects of his aspirations, he will often bitterly feel, that they are far inferior to those tranquil enjoyments which have obtained the suffrage of the wise and good of every age. But if he strongly feels the working of the master-passion, and had rather let the vulture prey upon his vitals, than pursue the namby-pamby of the social routine,—then the state must become his mistress, and he must woo her in as many forms as the poets bestowed upon the Sire of the Gods, when he mixed with mortals.

The bull, the swan, the shower of gold, are types of the force, and eloquence, and tangible persuasion with which a lover of such enterprise obtains his object.

According to the British Constitution, the Crown is the fountain of honour, and it is the King's prerogative to dispense those favours to which the public man aspires. But the opinion of the middle classes is the paramount authority; and the King can no more confer the highest honours in decided opposition to its dictates, than a natural fountain can distribute water to the soil, if unreplenished by the clouds.

Let the young politician, then, labour to obtain the public confidence, as the certain passport to distinction and reward. Not by the pursuit of those wild and unattainable objects which are useful to be talked of, and to fix the attention of the mob in periods of excitement; but by the steady and consistent advocacy of measures which confer the most practical benefit upon the people at large, and tend to preserve all that is valuable in our state of society, by successive modifications of its forms, according to the new character bestowed upon the people by the progress of intelligence, and the change in the amount and in the distribution of property, by the extension of commerce.

Some of those who talk about the wisdom of our ancestors, can see no difference between a people that decided guilt or innocence by the burning plough-shares, and one whose lowest classes read the sentiments of the most eminent men in the kingdom, while they sip their beer. Others, who feel the difference to be fatal to their favourite scheme of policy, endeavour to stultify the nation by retaining usages and forms suggested by the condition of a country emerging from poverty and isolation, after it has fallen into the opposite evil of a plethora of riches.

The civilized world is now silently undergoing

a more wonderful transformation than has ever been dreamt of by the wildest visionary; no man existing can guess the result. But there is a clear path before us.

Let us watch the reason of mankind, and adapt our conduct to its dictates. The attempts now making in France, and Spain, and England, to retain the errors of a former age, are like the struggles of detached groups in a moving multitude. They disturb the harmony and good-humour of the body; but whether maintained for a longer or shorter period, with greater or less energy, is ultimately unimportant; the "vis inertiæ" of the mass is sure to triumph.

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THE

POLITICAL PRIMER.

CHAP. I.

THE ADVERTISEMENT.

A CANDIDATE'S advertisement should be merely the notification of his intention; when it becomes a political argument, a laboured piece of phraseology, or a beseeching demand upon the electors, it is in bad taste. Every man is supposed to be well known to those whose suffrages he solicits; it is therefore superfluous to explain his sentiments in the public papers: the most elegant composition cannot change the opinion of a freeholder; and prayers on such occasions are more likely to be laughed at, than listened to. Some members who speak with habitual elegance, have published sen-

tences of bad English from excessive care and labour in wording their advertisement; others, from a consciousness of notorious superiority, have been so careless as to write complete nonsense. The simplest declaration of the intention, is the best advertisement.

There are a few cases, however, in which it is necessary to explain the political opinions and proposed conduct in parliament of the candidate, in his advertisement, because there may be no other channel of communication open between him and those whom he solicits. It often happens, that a young member of a distinguished family is in a foreign country at the dissolution of parliament, and that he may never have had an opportunity of addressing the friends of his house on political subjects. He therefore finds it necessary to explain concisely in his advertisement the course he intends to pursue, and the manner of his explanation ought to be very carefully studied.

If he rests his hopes upon one party only, and much heat and political rancour exist in his county, he can lose nothing by strong expressions

of preference, or even by violence of language; but he may estrange many persons inclined to be his friends, by an appearance of lukewarmness and moderation.

If he hopes to gain friends from different parties, and depends upon the influence of his family and connexions, more than upon his political opinions,—he should cautiously avoid a word or insinuation which might give offence to those who think differently on certain subjects from himself.

If party contests do not run high in the place he wishes to represent, or its vicinity, the subject of division ought to be entirely overlooked, and the attention directed to other political topics.

In the first case, some expression of this kind may be safely and perhaps advantageously employed:—"I will never depart from the principles of that great man who saved us from the dominion of an inquisitor-general, and a king's confessor," &c. &c. &c.

In the second case, the language may be of that undecided character, which leaves the candidate free from obligation to any particular line of

conduct — as thus: — "My family have always adhered to the principles of the revolution, and felt, as I do myself, a reverence for that great man, who saved this country from the dominion of France; but they have at all times carefully distinguished the just and impartial sentiments of that liberal king, from the exclusive doctrines of some of his adherents," &c. &c. &c.

In the third case, the debateable ground of the Catholic question, or whatever may be the subject at the time, should not be entered at all. The minor differences of whig and tory, the policy of ministers, and the opposition on general questions unconnected with the great source of division, should be selected as topics.

CHAP. II.

THE CANVASS.

To READERS of penetration will not require to be told, that the following pages are intended as a satire on the course of conduct there prescribed; but those who have never observed the artifices employed by ambitious men to gain their objects, may perhaps imagine that this chapter is a lesson, not a sketch. All that is here detailed under the form of precept, may soon be observed in action through the empire: nothing is invented; and only that which has been actually seen, described.

The art of canvassing is like the art of eloquence—it requires more faculties for its perfect exercise than any individual has been ever known to possess.—Good looks, good manners, good temper, and good sense, with fortune and liberality to use it, knowledge and aptitude to apply it, and courage with prudence to temper and restrain it, will all be insufficient to make a perfect canvasser.

The art requires a combination of the manner and tact of Chesterfield, the versatility of Buckingham, and the knowledge of the human heart possessed by Shakspeare. Any of the three would have failed in gaining the suffrages of many of the voters. Chesterfield was only acquainted with the artificial manners of the great; Buckingham was divested of the patience and perseverance necessary to success; and had Shakspeare aspired to a seat in parliament, depending on his own exertions, he would have failed ridiculously. The art in its perfection would be one of those in which proficiency is the mark of a despicable character; for a perfect canvasser would be a compound of every deceitful quality known to human nature: his looks and gestures would be lies; and every word proceeding from his lips, the calculated expression meant to serve a concealed purpose. It is by no means intended to go further in these hints, than to exhibit the art as it is actually practised in this country: deception is not inculcated, but described; and if it shocks the reader, let him abstain from ambitious pursuits; for he may be as-

sured, that if he brings the innocent and amiable simplicity of our domestic animals, to meet a craft like that of their natural enemies, — he will be baffled first, and laughed at afterwards.

The city of Westminster is completely open — as much so as could be desired by any reasonable advocate of parliamentary reform. In the year 1819, a gallant officer, of very high pretensions to the support of independent men, appeared upon the hustings. He had evinced a character capable of meeting dangers and difficulties in their worst form; and had claims to popularity possessed by very few even of his own admired profession: yet this gallant gentleman was spitten upon, and finally driven from the hustings, like one of the basest of mankind.

Another candidate, of very different pretensions, also appeared at this election: it is only necessary to name Mr. Hunt. But Mr. Hunt was insulted, and nearly killed, by that very mob, to whom he had devoted every faculty he possesses during a series of years, and for whom he has forfeited his estimation in society, and his personal respectability. The reason simply was, that the opponent of these

two candidates knew how to play a deeper game than they were capable even of conceiving. A member of the aristocracy, he baffled and beat the commissioned leader of the mob, at that election where the mob is most powerful: and a professed radical and opposer of government, he drove from off the hustings the naval hero who brought the whole influence of the crown to aid his own well-deserved popularity.

This fact may convince the young candidate of the necessity of applying himself to the study of popular arts;—a study, which requires as well the deepest reflection, as the most extensive observation of human nature, in every situation of life. It is not flattery, it is not money, it is not pleasing and amiable qualities, which command success;—but the faculty of employing every resource in the precise manner in which it is calculated to gain the proposed object. At one time, ridicule will succeed, where acquiescence and applause would fail, as will be shown below; at another, a vulgar oath, and a slap on the back, will gain the men, whom a polite French bow would estrange for ever. The first of our novelists has exhibited two

specimens of English country gentlemen residing in the same neighbourhood, so totally different in taste, opinions, and general character, that without versatility, and variety of resources, a candidate who had succeeded with one, would of necessity fail in his canvass of the other: — but it would be by no means impossible to please and gain the good opinion both of Mr. Allworthy and of his neighbour Squire Western. Lord Bolingbroke would have done so effectually; and not only those two, but twenty more as unlike each other.

The art of canvassing is to be divided into two branches; — canvassing for one's self, and canvassing for a friend:—the means of success are essentially different.

In canvassing for one's self, the first principle is, that the voters must be made so self-satisfied, that each would do violence to his own feelings in voting against the candidate; the next is, that the spirit of contention must be so excited, as to make the electors feel it a point of honour to carry their colours in triumph at the end.

To make people self-satisfied, is not so easy as

may be imagined; and there is not a more general cause of failure in a canvass than the indiscriminate acquiescence and flattery adopted on these occasions. It requires a complete knowledge of a person's character to flatter him successfully; and as people always expect to meet adulation from a supplicating candidate, the slightest inadvertence or bad judgment on his part, is sure to make him lose his object.

A candidate is expected to wait upon each of his expected constituents, and to solicit their votes in person. He should pay his visit precisely at the time when his friends wish it to be paid, and on this point he must acquire information from his agents. It will never do, to knock at the door when tradesmen are at work in the hall, or when the carpet has been unnailed, or the lady looks poorly after a few days' illness. Families do not like to be seen by their best company, except in their best trim; and all the affability in the world will not profit the visiter, if he excite feelings of vexation or disappointment.

In conversation, the ladies are to be addressed most particularly; and of all parts of the difficult

art of canvassing, this conversation is the most difficult to succeed in; for ladies have much more quickness of perception than the other sex, and can instinctively penetrate the views of him, who addresses them for any purpose of his own. Whatever mine he works, is sure to be countermined, unless he can force some strong passion to co-operate with him; and therefore such ministers as Richelieu and Mazarin, who worked by the feelings of the few, and not the interests of the many, were earnest in selecting for all delicate negotiations, those men whose qualities enabled them to make strong impressions upon the hearts of women. But vanity is a passion in some characters much stronger than love; and if it works in union with a candidate, he will be sure of success in his canvass amongst the ladies.

Let him beware of talking to a talker, or forcing one to talk who dislikes to lead the conversation. A few short sentences, suggesting subjects, may be aptly inserted in the interstices of the one's volubility, and the other permitted to remain silent, by a conversation which only requires to be assented to.

It is impossible to be successful in a canvass, without a close attention to the circumstances of the individual case, and much previous information. In one family, you may give offence by paying attention to a daughter just returned from an elopement; in another, you may make an enemy of some silent but influential person, who might appear a cipher, though she really commanded the house. A member of long experience lost the friendship of one of his old supporters, by unluckily praising the child of a half-brother, who happened to be very superior to the children of the house.

The common practice of admiring the horses, flowers, pictures, books, or favourite objects of the parties canvassed, is not to be frequently adopted, because the trick soon betrays itself: one says, "how fond Mr. A. is of dogs!" or of pictures, or whatever he had appeared to admire; another remarks, that he is hobby-horsical about flowers; and it last appears that he neither knows or cares any thing about one or the other: then he is set down as a dissimulator, and whatever he says on other subjects intended to please, is disregarded.

But there is a silent mode of taking notice of a man's favourite objects, which generally succeeds: a good canvasser will suddenly put up his glass when passing a fine picture, look earnestly at it for a few moments, and pass on without saying any thing; or pull a flower of great beauty, and keep it in his hand during the visit, neither apologising, nor praising; and above all, he will cautiously prevent his eyes from wandering towards those objects which are not fit for the strongest light.

It has been remarked, that indiscriminate acquiesence and universal flattery generally do more harm than good; there is sometimes great advantage to be derived from opposition and ridicule. In most families there is a secret contention between husband and wife, with respect to all objects of taste; and it delights each to have the other's fancies opposed by a stranger of consideration. "Now, Mr. A., say candidly, what do you think of our new gateway? is it not just like the entrance to an hospital?" If the husband is in the habit of vielding in the actual contest, every lively

sally at his expense will strengthen the candidate's interest in that family; but if the lady yields, it is dangerous to reverse the practice: for although it may do good as far as the husband's vote goes, there are a thousand indirect ways in which it may do injury. As a general rule, a man may be safely laughed at to gain a point with his wife; but it is rarely prudent to ridicule the lady, however it may please or gratify her help-mate. The ladies' influence is like magnetism or electricity, acting unseen in a thousand directions; the husband's is as uniform, perceptible, and downright, as common gravity; his weight and direction are known to every body.

When a young man begins to canvass, nothing is found so perplexing as the necessity of assuming every shade and variety of opinion to meet the multifarious modes of acting, seeing, and thinking of his constituents. Fifty persons address him, under a conviction, that nobody can doubt the truth of what each asserts; yet every one of the fifty is wrong in the estimation of the other forty-nine. Men of retired habits and a routine life,

like most of those to be canvassed, generally hold positive opinions, founded on very narrow views, but deeply imprinted from a repetition of the circumstances that first suggested them. It is impossible to change or modify them: the persons who hold them begin an argument on any subject by a fixed opinion as from an axiom; and he does not dream that any one in the world can be mad enough to question it. In this case a canvasser is sometimes in great perplexity; for he may be called on at the hustings to disown what he had merely conceded for the sake of conciliation. Some have the power, by looks, gestures, and monosyllables, of granting every thing and nothing to every one they converse with: but in general, it is the best plan, not to enter into earnest conversation, except with one person, and even with one as seldom as possible. If a candidate be seduced to take a part when two are debating, it will be difficult to avoid estranging one by a preference for the other: such little estrangements do much harm; if often renewed, they are sure to alienate.

Another obstacle arises from difference of rank,

which prevents his employing those little assiduities that never fail to gain the attachment of equals. He is debarred in many cases from the exercise of kind and affectionate attentions, the expression of interest in one's private concerns, the participation of joys and sorrows, and the interchange of a thousand little favours which connect friends and increase their attachment. A canvasser is always a great man; and whatever he does in the way of kindness is taken as a retaining fee. However, there is no difficulty of this kind which manner will not overcome.

A member well acquainted with elections, was informed by his agents that a certain butcher's wife had conceived an antipathy to his name, and was unceasingly employed in vociferating tales to his prejudice: she stood in an open shop, and every one who came to buy was entertained by her volubility at his expense. Had he attempted to do her a kindness, she would have added this proof of weakness or meanness to her stock of invective, and have triumphed over him by refusing his assistance or his gifts. One day, before she knew

his person, he went suddenly into her shop, with an insolent fellow following him, and in the gentlest tone and manner requested her to lend him a shilling to pay the fellow, said he was on a visit at Mr. So-and-so's in the neighbourhood, and had forgotten his purse. His air and manner could not be mistaken, and the butcher's wife at once lent the money. Next day he came, and paid her; and while thanking her, he said carelessly, "How old is that little creature?"—"Seven months, sir, last Christmas."—"Is it a boy or a girl?"—"A boy, sir; the only boy out of six."—"Upon my word it looks at me as if he was two years old—good day!"

The woman thought him the finest gentleman she had ever seen, and yet he was not above taking notice of her baby: had the butcher been under twenty promises to the other candidate, his wife would have made him vote for this object of her former hatred,—so often does esteem, or its opposite, depend upon a look or a word.

In canvassing the lower classes, it is very serviceable to become acquainted with them in a good-humoured kind of way, before they know the

views or rank of the candidate. All human creatures are alike in their vanities and affections; all are equally to be gained by one line of conduct and manner towards them, and to be estranged by another. If a fine gentleman ride up in a kind of state, to ask a tradesman for his vote, it is possible that he may feel a pride in showing the power to refuse him; but if he only recognises the easy laughing good-fellow, who has opened his box to the shop-keeper behind his counter, asked him for a wafer, and talked as familiarly with him as with a lord;—in this case he will feel a pride the other way; as having the power to oblige a great man, who thought him worthy of being treated with respect and familiarity.

It was mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, that difference of rank is found an obstacle in gaining the good-will of the lower classes; to which it may be replied, that both candidates have the same impediment in this respect. The supposition, however is, that a young candidate is to bring away the voters from their former connexions by his engaging manners and popular arts; and the difference

of rank was stated as an obstacle in his way. His superiority of rank is in some cases particularly advantageous to him.

When he addresses persons only two or three degrees below him, it is found to be of the greatest use. The gentry of moderate fortune always aspire to the intimacy of their superiors, and are caught by the attentions of persons of rank and consideration. The candidate would be sure of success with this class, if his rival did not proceed in the same course, and bestow his regards in equal proportion. Both are liberal before the election; and leave the voters to enjoy the flattery and attentions of both, and vote for either. But this is one of the situations, where the talent of one man will effectually supplant another, and, by apparently leaving him the field to himself, detach the voters from him.

No kind of flattery is oftener practised before an election, than dancing with those excellent girls, who are loved by their own sex with warmth, though not considered by the other as worthy of any particular attention. Candidates generally

discover suddenly that the female friends are right, and these girls are amiable and engaging to a great degree, if their fathers or brothers have freeholds, or an intimacy with those who hold them. It is understood that pleasant feelings are seldom analyzed by those who experience them; and when the small squire and his lady see their dear little girl handed out by the Honorable Mr. So-and-so, they don't inquire why or wherefore he has done her so great an honour. Sometimes, however, it happens that the girl has too much discernment to be duped, and that every fine speech made to her by her partner is placed to the credit of his opponent. All this depends upon tact: some men perceive at a glance that a girl is superior to election flattery; and while their rivals are endeavouring to entertain her with something little better than euphuism, employ themselves in paying every attention to the mother; conversing with her upon all those points which most please her vanity, and renewing the pleasing recollections of her dancing days: thus the daughter will be out of patience with the common-place of one candidate,

and the mother delighted with the insensible adulation of the other.

"Well, Kitty, you have been lucky to-night: how do you like your partner?"—"Indeed, Mamma, I had rather dance with one of the demi-tasses:* he never ceased talking such fulsome stuff as can only be found in the most miserable novel."—"Well, Kitty, though Col. A. did not ask you to dance, because I believe he did not wish to pay you an election compliment,—he observed your dancing, and seemed to take an interest when your hair fell down, and to be surprised at its length."

Thus we often find—"Si ottiene multe volte più tosto, e con minor pericolo e spesa, le cose a fuggirle, che in ogni forza ed ostinazione perseguitandole."

In other cases, however, the fertility of an Eastern imagination will not supply flattery enough for a country-town lady and her daughter: they will say it is fulsome, feel it is fulsome, and know it is ful-

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* The term applied at Paris to the ruined half-pay officers, at the end of the war.

some, and be ashamed that any body but themselves should hear it; but if nobody else hear it, it will be delicious, and insure the vote of the hen-pecked husband, and chick-pecked father. Even the honest tradesman of Houndsditch, or the Minories, is sometimes unfortunate enough to have such a pair of females attached to his establishment, who rob his till, and go off to show their finery in Greenwich Park, instead of mending his shirts, or helping to serve his customers, as the following literally true story will prove. It was communicated by a friend thus:—

"I was sitting on one of the benches, on the terrace of the College at Greenwich, observing different gay parties parading up and down: amongst the rest, I remarked an old and young lady very gaily dressed, and laughing, with the greatest apparent delight, at every thing said to them by a young military man of about eighteen years old: the girl was prettyish, with the air of a half-fledged sparrow, looking about for twigs to hop upon: her mother was the personification of our idea of Mrs. Primrose, when setting off her

daughter before the Squire. After some turns, the three came and sat down on the end of the same bench with me: all the rest were full.

"Here they stayed rather silent for two or three minutes, and a quizzical little old rusty-coated pig-tailed person, who might pass for a retired clothesman, pawnbroker, or shaved Jew-pedler, approached the bench before the ladies perceived him in the crowd. 'My God, Mamma!' said the girl, in an under-tone, 'here is Mr. Bone!' and before a reply, he came up, and spoke familiarly to the two ladies. 'How do, Martha? Well, Misses! (Mistress) you've slipped off! How is Bob? very poorly, eh? Ah, the poor fellow won't do, won't do: indeed, 'tis gone too far with him.' He never stopped, though the ladies were in torture. 'Well, Martha, I have got a husband in my eye for you,—a wise, sober, thriving young fellow; one that will rise in the world, and make you rich, girl! a wise, steady young fellow, that every one respects; and I mentioned you to him.' Here the girl began to simper, though evidently trembling at every word; the young dandy listened with outstretched neck,

and the mother seemed very like 'un mouton qui rêve.'

"'Have you, sir?' said Miss. 'I have indeed,' continued he; 'and I intend to speak to your father about it,' all in a methodical measured tone, as if he was noting down his cast clothes to make an inventory. 'What is he?' at last said the mother, forgetting herself: 'what is he, sir?' said the daughter.—'He's chimney-sweeper and night-man, keeps ten hands, and has half the work of his parish.' The mother and daughter jumped up, and walked off rapidly without uttering a single word, left their beau and myself in a hysteric laugh, and their kind friend in a stare of amazement: he was serious; had no suspicion of their scheme of pleasure, or their beau; but simply conversed with them as he had been used to do in the shop. He looked after them without saying a word, and went in the opposite direction."

So far on the point of making voters self-satisfied; it is the part of the agents to excite the spirit of contention. Some freeholders have been years at law to oppose a road or a bridge, out of mere

cross purpose to the projector; they must be foiled, and the work begun, if your opponent be returned. Others long to have a son made constable, but their village enemy will have all the interest of the other candidate, for a thousand ingenious reasons. The music-master has a freehold in his house, and an income in the taste for music in his neighbourhood; your opponent thinks all noise equally disagreeable, and ridicules his friends for teaching their daughters music. Where there is no contentious disposition, private interest will serve the purpose; the doctor, if indifferent to both candidates, will incline to the side where there are young children not yet vaccinated, or through the measles.

Thus it is in every thing; the art consists in finding a ready mode of connecting each man's private interest and petty passions with your friend's success, and asking him to vote nominally for another, but really for himself.

Ingenuity will do much in deterring those from voting for your opponent, who cannot be gained by

any mode to your own side. If an apothecary were going off in a post-chaise at free cost, to vote for your adversary, some agents could persuade him, that people were talking every day about oxalic acid, and carelessness of apothecaries, and that the old women of the opposite interest would raise a cry against him, if he left the town while Mrs. A. was in a fever, and Mrs. B. expecting to be confined: another may be kept back by friendly hints, that he'd "meet an acquaintance who was waiting for him." The tailor perhaps would rather pretend a fever, than leave his wife, when a certain friend of his had been seen in the town; and a man who felt that he deserved a horse-whipping would be easily persuaded that he was likely to meet it, at the election town.

It were earnestly to be wished that all these miserable pieces of knavery and fraud could be abandoned by men in pursuit of fame and glory; that the aspirant for public honours should merely show himself in "togâ candidâ," and leave the public to discuss his pretensions amongst themselves,

But so long as human nature remains as it is, such wishes are as vain as the desire, that the wolf could lie down with the lamb, and the lion with the kid.

The art of canvassing for a friend is founded upon different principles from the branch which relates to one's self. When a man enters upon this course, and endeavours to supplant a political opponent, by substituting a member of his own party, he must totally lose sight of himself, and direct his observations to the understanding of the voters, rather than to their feelings. It will be of no use to him to be thought the most pleasing, good-natured fellow in the world, and he need not even take the trouble of asking the child's name, or if it be boy or girl. His business is to persuade the voters, that he and they are ruined in their interests together, by the sitting member, and that he recommends his friend, merely because he will promote his own objects, as well as the views of those whose influence he solicits. All idea of friendship must be carefully kept out of view.

The candidate he recommends must be introduced as the principal personage in every conver-

sation, and must be connected in some way or other with the pursuits or pleasures of whomsoever he addresses. If the people be fox-hunters, and the candidate is known to be no sportsman,—"I don't know how it is, Mr. A. does not know a greyhound from a King Charles; yet I have heard him say, he has stood for an hour outside a wood watching for a fox to break, when he hears the hounds within." If they are shooters, or anglers,—he may be careful of his hen pheasants, as a great enemy to netters: if, by some curious chance, the family addressed be literary, the candidate "has been silly enough to give forty-five pounds for an edition of some trash by Wynkyn de Worde, which might be had in a neat new type for sixpence." Whatever be the pursuits, except devotion, he should be connected with it; but devotees should, in all cases, be let alone.

It is an important rule to be observed, both in canvassing for one's self, and canvassing for a friend, that the earliest and most marked attention should be paid to those individuals, who from taste, habits, or want of general acquaintance,

live apart from the knots and circles of the place. These men are more pleased with attention, and less capable of resisting solicitation:—they are to be gained directly only, and not like their social brethren, by the indirect effect of conversation and reciprocal influence. The first and most earnest application is sure to gain them, and they will never desert their colours, like many of those who promise and intend to perform, but are forced to recall their engagement, rather than separate from the circle with whom they laugh and drink. If time cannot be spared to pay personal respect to all, the most important and influential persons should be those neglected; for they depend too much upon their own value, to be hurt by the omission; while the smaller gentry will be apt to resent any kind of slight, because it lessens them in their own estimation.

We use in the English language a very false expression, for conveying the pain inflicted upon an individual by being lessened in his own estimation. What we call hurting his feelings, is correctly called in France, hurting his self-love. If a

candidate, by either word or act, omission or commission, contrive to hurt the self-love of his voters, their family, or friends, he is unfit to enter upon a canvass. "I am rejoiced to see you," said a young candidate to a gentleman who had been introduced to him a few months before, "but excuse me, if in the multiplicity of my late engagements, I have forgotten your name." "O, Sir," replied the other, "I should be very sorry you took the trouble of remembering the name of one, to whom you owe no obligation, nor are ever likely to owe one."

If he had neither memory to remember names, nor wit enough to discover them in the course of conversation, he should have had a prompter to lean on, when he walked abroad.

Every young candidate, on opening his canvass, will find himself surrounded by a set of persons, whom his good feelings and high principles will tempt him strongly to repel from him with contempt. He must, however, overcome these first impressions, and be satisfied to accept the proffered services of these individuals, upon their own

terms;—terms, which are not onerous, except to inexperienced young men.

The persons alluded to will be found the aptest instruments for all those kinds of work, which men of honour would neither do, nor propose to others:—they will also perform a number of menial duties upon occasion, and serve the offices of the under agents, with a zeal proportionate to the superiority of the reward they look for, and the feeling which actuates them. For while men of profession expect pay, these men look for honour and distinction; and instead of avarice, they feel ambition—the ambition of being seen to walk and talk with a member of parliament, and to be called Jack or Tom by one who may speak to a prime minister. Such men are always prominent personages at elections; and they are much more useful to a candidate than the assistance of his eminent friends:—they may be compared to brown paper, which nobody values or esteems; although, on many occasions, it is found more serviceable than hot-pressed, or gilt vellum.

CHAP. III.

THE MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES.

In dwelling so much in the last chapter upon the indirect modes of gaining votes, by the popular arts and manners of the candidate himself, and the activity and ingenuity of his agents, it was not intended to undervalue the direct and tangible resources, which often prove effective beyond any other means. A candidate must employ his wit, his courage, and his purse; must fatigue his body, and exhaust his mind;—or he is not fit for a contested election.

If a needy man has promised an adversary his vote, let his principle be proved by a sudden and great temptation; one which may be sufficient to heal the wounds of his own feelings, and gain his family: if an enemy resort to unfair and dishonorable modes of opposition, a few words

whispered in his ear may effectually restrain him.

A candidate must never seek the favour of the voters by that mawkish desire to please every body, which renders acts of kindness worthless to the receiver: he must appear like a gentleman of the last age, dressed in gold lace and smiles, but provided with a sword to resent aggression. He should be known to his opponents as well as to his friends, and be as much feared by the one for his powers of ridicule, invective, and readiness to fight, as loved by the other for every gentle and amiable quality. The moment a man enters upon public life, he ceases to be in the literal sense a Christian:—he must have enemies, and must combat them by every honorable means; for if he tries to conciliate those who are decidedly opposed to him, he will never tremble and exult at hearing the echo of his own voice within the walls of St. Stephen's.

Young men of good talents and amiable dispositions set out in life with the belief that the greater part of the vice, fraud, and base conduct com-

plained of by their elders, is produced by their own harshness, asperity, and injustice; and that if there were no hard masters, or oppressors, there would be few lying, slandering, fawning, back-stabbing dependants. They require about twenty years experience to correct this persuasion, unless the heart be predisposed to misanthropy: but at the end of this period, men generally are convinced that a given number of human creatures, in all ages and nations, contains a quantum of vice and meanness, which may be compressed or dilated, but never much diminished in weight. The views of the young man lead him to trust, conciliate, and concede to his opponent, with the hope of extinguishing animosity by frankness and warmth of heart;—but experience teaches him in middle age, that conciliation of determined enemies is only useful, because it justifies the means necessary to subdue them:—it never changes the mind of the party, but it deprives him of the support of opinion, and enables a generous adversary to hunt him down with the applause of all good men. There are instances in every society, of individuals

betrayed, defamed, and injured in the tenderest points, by those for whom they had expended, at every opportunity, their labour and their wealth: an inadvertent word, an unconscious want of attention at any moment, an actual inability to comply with some unreasonable demand,—is sufficient to excite the eternal hatred of such persons; and when once conceived, the efforts of the hated to subdue it only place a worse weapon in the hands of his adversary.

A young man of excellent dispositions became candidate for a retired borough, where he exerted himself in dispensing benefits to the poor, and civilities of every kind to others, not from interested views, but really from the kindly feelings of an open, generous heart: he was one who ought not to have had an enemy even amongst his opponents;—nevertheless, on the day of election, he was taunted on the hustings by an individual, from whom he expected to receive assistance and co-operation. Harsh expressions were used, tales related, suspicions hinted to the electors, and a course of conduct pursued, which showed a pre-

meditated design to injure and distress him. On descending from the hustings, he met the individual alluded to suddenly, while his feelings were yet alive; and he said,—"Mr. A., I have considered you my friend: what act of mine has ever displeased you?"—"Sir," replied the other surlily, "I left my card at your lodgings three years ago, when I went to London, and you never took the trouble of noticing my visit." It had so happened, that the card was burnt by accident, and the servant forgot to mention it.

Kindness or amiability could never gain upon such a person as this; but fear would probably deter him from employing his rancour against whomsoever he might consider entitled to his enmity; and as such men are found at all elections, it is necessary that a candidate should arm himself with a fixed determination to fight any opponent who departs from the fair line of political hostility, and employs dishonorable means to thwart his views.

It is singular to the observer of life, how much afraid the bravest men are of fighting a duel use-

lessly, and how seldom an individual known to be ready, is called out by his opponents. Those who seek to make a reputation by fighting, are never those who come into direct collision with members of parliament;—they quarrel with their supporters, agents, and inferior partisans: but it is the prudent men who come within the range of the candidate himself; and these, however personally brave, will generally prefer abandoning an improper cause to fighting a duel:—they know that it is a permanent injury to every man, to have his name connected with duelling; and so far from seeking a character by fighting, they generally go further to avoid the notoriety of such an affair, than the danger of personal injuries, or even of the loss of life.

The next point to be considered is the management of the purse:—it is a principal material, and requires to be employed as systematically as his talents or his friends. Indiscriminate hospitality is employed frequently, like indiscriminate flattery, —and both are equally injudicious. The *argumentum ad ventrem* is a very good one in itself,

and may buy those who would not sell themselves for the other modes of purchase; but the objection is, that one cannot expend money upon these people in common entertainments, without paying twenty times more than the value of their votes. If money is unlimited, and the election a pitched battle between parties, like a celebrated one in Yorkshire many years ago, then a single vote must be courted, wooed, and won at every sacrifice;—but in cases where a limited sum is at the disposal of the candidate, he should seek much better channels for its employment, than indiscriminate hospitality.

A friend amused himself not long ago in calculating accurately the sums he had paid for particular votes, purchased indirectly by presents, dinners, visits, excursions, and so forth; and he pretended that he could set down every item of cost which had concurred to make the total sum. The head of expenses in hospitality was very amusing,—for he not only charged the voters with what they had eaten and drunk, but with the consumption of all the merry, witty, light, buoyant spirits he was

obliged to ask, to save himself from the ennui of spending hours in such company. One man would tell a story of an ox, or an ass, or any thing that was his; and when finished in half an hour, his neighbour would try to imitate it with something about the cock or bull of his acquaintance; and thus the evenings would have been filled with a succession of such narratives, as would make the great bear drowsy. As a relief to himself, he always provided a few epigrammatic humorists, who generally contrived to find a subject for wit or merriment in the narratives of the clod-poles, as chemists extract light and heat from fetid vapours.

Now, these gay fellows liked Sillery and Chambertin; and red Cape would have passed for claret amongst the freeholders; and therefore the whole expense of a series of costly dinners was charged to some three or four worthy yeomen, whose votes were worth perhaps ten pounds a-piece on a calculation of chances, and their influence nil. This was an injudicious appropriation of the election fund.

It is from such bad management that candidates

are sometimes obliged to give in, before all their voters have come to the poll, and before their chance of success can be fairly thought exhausted; like suitors, who spend all their money in giving balls and entertainments to a lady, and keep no reserve to buy the diamond necklace which would ultimately secure her favours.

It is impossible to give precise directions for the management of a candidate's money; but he should always attend to this rule:—let it be divided, not diffused; it will produce an incommensurably greater return in the shape of gratitude and influence, when distributed in a hundred parts, than in a thousand: one man may be so assisted by fifty pounds at a critical moment for his credit, or pecuniary wants, as to remain attached to his benefactor for life; (and it is difficult to estimate the value of even one man's devoted attachment;) but if a thousand shillings were given away to individuals, the donor could never receive any thing better than a "God bless you!" in return. In the first case, the money is applied as capital, and brings an usufruct of service; in the second, it is

squandered like income, and leaves nothing behind, but the conviction that it has been thrown away.

The Honorable Mr. Somebody (no matter who, and no matter where,) was engaged in a sharp contest, with very moderate pecuniary means; and he gained the favour of all the worthy and religious people at the beginning, by some liberal acts to public establishments, and donations to the poor. It so happened in the progress of the election, that one of the greatest knaves existing in the form of a village attorney was arrested while exerting incredible energy and activity in the service of Mr. Somebody's opponent. The debt was large, and two new creditors were expected: Mr. S.'s friends came to tell him the circumstance in the highest spirits, for they thought their most dangerous enemy put *hors de combat*. The candidate, however, sent immediately, and had the attorney liberated, and his debts paid. What was the consequence? the man was a knave by profession, ready to break every law human and divine, to gain his object; and therefore possessed a superabundant portion of that quality, called "honour amongst

thieves," without which, such persons could not carry on their trade. He found himself neglected by his friend, and supported by his enemy, at a critical moment; he therefore instantly changed sides, and added to the zeal he had evinced as a simple partisan, the rancour of a renegade.

Mr. S. gained more votes by this sum so strangely appropriated, than by any act during the election; but he lost a great deal,—he lost the good opinion of all those who had nothing else to give him.

Many estimable persons will very naturally exclaim against the inculcation of such principles, and stigmatize the conduct described as Machiavelian. (Chesterfieldian would be a better word.) It is admitted, that such conduct is highly reprehensible, and the writer of these pages would sooner lose any object than adopt it. He describes the proceedings of successful candidates, as they are to be seen by any keen eye at every election: when Machiavel described the conduct of the princes and nobles of his day exactly as it was, he was accused by various shallow politicians, as the teacher of that which constituted the model from

which he drew. The system of Italian fraud had been long organized, before it was described by him; and he did nothing more than exhibit the tools by which the successful machinists of his day performed their work. Suwarrow has been said to gain an object, by exposing a battalion to certain destruction; Sir John Moore was too humane to purchase victory at such a price. A military writer may explain the mode by which the barbarian conquered, without partaking his ferocity; just as the political enemies of the British general described the injurious consequences of his humanity and good feeling, without deriving their knowledge of these qualities from self-examination.

A man engaged in political contests can no more pursue the course suggested by his own good feelings and dispositions, than he can walk straight forward in a crowded street: he must give a little at one time to a saint, and at another to a sinner, which his liberal views and moral feelings would gladly withhold; but he should never lend himself to vice or dishonour, nor give his countenance to the petty and

malignant passions which on every side solicit his aid. The course he ought to follow is aptly described by Crabbe:—

"'Tis right, 'tis just, to feel contempt for vice;
But he that shows it, may be over-nice:
There are who feel, when young, the false sublime,
And proudly love to show disdain for crime;
To whom the future will new thoughts supply,—
The pride will soften, and the scorn will die:
Nay, where they still the vice itself condemn,
They bear the vicious, and consort with them.
Young Captain Grove, when one had changed his side,
Despised the venal turn-coat, and defied:
Old Colonel Grove now shakes him by his hand,
Though he who bribes may still his vote command.
* * * * *
* It is the gradual change in human hearts,—
That time in commerce with the world imparts;
That on the roughest temper throws disguise,
And steals from virtue her asperities.
* * * * *
* * * * *
Changes like these 'tis folly to condemn,
So virtue yield not, nor is changed with them."

After the management of his courage and his purse, that of his wit, if he has any, may be touched upon. An old gentleman of large fortune, who

lived in one of the northern counties, was in the habit of keeping open house for all who allowed him to be right in every opinion, and never visited one who seemed to suppose there was any thing in the world not dreamt of by his philosophy. It was the opinion of his acquaintance that he was the most intractable of human beings, and that neither powerful man nor winning woman could gain a point with him.

The judges going the northern circuit some particular year, made their arrangements to dine and sleep at this old gentleman's house, which he considered a high honour: every delicacy was provided, and a cook brought from London, the dinner-tables were laid out with a display of all the family plate, and the servants kept on the alert, like those of Mr. Hardcastle.

It was not known whether the guests would come the Wednesday or Thursday, as the length of trials of importance in York was doubtful; but a young fellow of great humour, who had gained his favour by acquiescence, determined to put his

character to the proof, and by a perfect stratagem he persuaded the old gentleman that the judges would arrive at seven o'clock that evening. The dinner was set to the fire, all the dainties dressed, and at seven o'clock a letter came, stating that their lordships had found it necessary to change their plan, and to proceed to the next assize town, from the pressure of the public business. The wag, of course, enjoyed the good cheer, and the want of cheer, together; for while he helped himself to the broadest selvage from the middle of the haunch, the looks of his host amused him more than the most brilliant conversation.

At night he took his leave, and went to London; the judges came next day at dinner time, and found nothing but cold venison and second-hand ragouts, "the wine locked up, the butler strolled abroad," &c. &c. &c.

What did the old gentleman say or do to this most irritating jester? not a word nor an act. He saw the trick at once, recollected he had a wag to deal with, and when asked, some years after, how

he could keep on terms with one who had treated him so cavalierly—he simply replied, "the knave could write a song upon me."

This anecdote proves the power of ridicule in influencing the conduct of some individuals; and very little observation is sufficient to convince us, that as a weapon it is more feared than sword or dagger. It is one, however, which never fails to cut the hand that holds it, unless accompanied by a discretion seldom seen united with any kind of wit. It is the most dangerous faculty any person can possess; but it must not be forgotten, that its danger arises from its excessive power. It is a species of tyranny placed at the disposal of an individual, which enables him to inflict a punishment upon his equals, more dreaded than the judgments of the law; therefore there is always an avenger ready to stab him in the back; for where any kind of tyranny exists, there will be found assassins. A man who could hold his fellows up to public ridicule with impunity, ought to be as much an object of general hostility, as one privileged by rank to cut and maim his majesty's subjects at his pleasure.

The improper exercise of powers of ridicule, therefore, deserves to meet the most severe chastisement; but a gentleman may use his wit in self-defence, as well as his sword; and if he never employs it for any other purpose, the dullest votary of hum-drum cannot reproach him for its exercise.

A man should never ridicule a class, or corps, however great may be its malice towards him; for there must be injustice in attacks upon any collection of individuals, and the esprit de corps will rally all the indifferent members round the standard of his enemies. Nobody feels a ridicule thrown upon his class, in the sensitive manner necessary to influence his actions. You may kick the public for ever, or even the different great divisions of the public, without giving uneasiness to any body; but you will make yourself a mark for every passenger to throw a stone at in return. If churchmen raise a cry of church in danger against a candidate, he will aid their object by any symptom of dislike to the cloth: if radicals describe him as a bigot, and deride his partiality for

the established church, any sally against their jacobinism will mark him as an ultra. But if he can adroitly cast a barbed ridicule upon some particular busy-body amongst them, which will cling to his name, like tar and feather to his hair, it is ten to one, that half his brethren will desert him, and join the laughers.

A man should never ridicule a woman; for it is ungenerous to make any kind of attack upon an adversary who cannot effectually resist it; and besides it is bad policy:—for if she is amiable, all the men will take her part, and none but her rivals will enjoy the joke; if not amiable, resentment will burn, like subterraneous fire in volcanic regions, and never cool without a fatal explosion. Some women, however, do employ themselves at elections in a way that deserves to be checked. By a look and a whisper they defame those, of whom they could not speak censoriously, without being convicted story-tellers and slanderers.*

A man should never ridicule the young, impe-

* See Appendix, No. 6.

tuous, and ardent; for there is much generosity mixed up with their hostility, and their resentment does not last long. Ridicule, if effectual, changes them from casual opponents to determined enemies; and if ineffectual, throws the author of it into contempt.

A man should never ridicule those, whose laughter is supplied by animal spirits, and not by a sense of incongruity; for these worthy persons, like a celebrated citizen of London, always turn the joke against the joker, by entering heartily into it, and laughing unaffectedly at themselves. One who feels a ridicule can never do this; for his obvious constraint and forced merriment make him doubly ridiculous; but the rosy-faced, open-hearted, good fellow, who cordially shakes the hand of the man who tries to laugh at him, will never fail to gain the majority of the observers, and to throw the wittiest epigrammatist into the shade.

The best subjects for the exercise of wit and merriment at elections, are the testy and fretful, who have always a keen sense of ridicule, and

seldom find much sympathy even from their own friends, when they meet it. Those who possess wit and talent, also, are excellent subjects; for they are the most active partisans, and the most sensitive to the wounds inflicted by their own weapons. Even the great moralist, the *ex cathedrâ* teacher of forbearance and Christian meekness,—resorted to the bludgeon for his defence, when threatened by a wit; and it was his only effective weapon. But Foote had not dared to threaten Pope with ridicule, had they lived together; for Pope could have deprived him of his tranquillity by day, and his sleep by night: while the great Leviathan would only have diverted the public, when floundering under his enemy's harpoon. But, though a man of wit and talent is a good subject for an attack, it is very dangerous to tamper with him. He may be kept in check, by knowing that a sword is held suspended over him, as Hogarth would have been, if he suspected a fiftieth part of the atrocious libel of Churchill; but a direct collision should always be avoided.

After the foregoing hints for the management of a candidate's wit, courage, and pecuniary resources, it only remains to caution him upon the control of his temper; and as this is quite unsusceptible of instruction, and yet requires it more than any quality he has,—he is recommended, whenever he feels sudden irritation, to stop his mouth with a walnut; for if he speak, he will certainly do himself an injury.

CHAP. IV.

SPEAKING IN GENERAL.

HITHERTO the aspirant for public honours has been furnished with a few short instructions for the regulation of his conduct: it will now be necessary to say something on the management of his tongue,—that little organ, whose powers are so various, that in one man it is only capable of saying "How d'ye do?" and in another it utters that which destroys or saves a nation.

This branch of the subject may be divided thus:—speaking to a circle of friends—speaking at convivial meetings—speaking at county meetings, and from hustings—speaking in the House of Commons—speaking in the House of Lords—speaking in council before the King.

CHAP. V.

SPEAKING TO A CIRCLE OF FRIENDS.

WHEN one man speaks to many who give their whole attention to what he says, the tone of familiar conversation is not suitable, though the listeners were all his relatives: the familiar tone is only proper when speaking to few, or where the speaker is frequently interrupted.

But although there should not be familiarity, still less should there be any attempt at the sustained tone of a speech: a clear succinct statement, in a quiet tone of voice, with a countenance of friendly expression, and no kind of action or gesture, should be the aim of the speaker. If he is to explain, to give information, to advise, or to ask advice, he should begin in such a manner as to seem to await interruption, rather than to forbid it; and on every occasion to answer the looks of

his hearers, by attending to whomsoever appears anxious to gain his ear.

Some members in their committee speak with the air of commissioners proclaiming the king's pleasure, and in the House of Commons appear as timid as clerks excusing themselves to a master.

Let us suppose a candidate to have heard some piece of news on a sudden, which promises him success; he runs to his friends at the committee-room, and on meeting two or three of them at the door, he may say, "My dear fellows, I have just heard something you will rejoice at—what d'ye think it is? I give you fifty guesses," &c. &c., but when he finds the whole assembled to hear his intelligence, he must lay aside this tone, and simply say, "My friends, I have just received information which will give you all much pleasure; and I confidently anticipate from it the attainment of my object," &c. &c.

A speaker amongst his friends can give an air of familiarity to language which would seem measured if it were written and read: the looks, the pauses, the questions to one and another, the

appeal nominal: "You, colonel, recollect the circumstance,"—"Sir John was present at the time," &c.—all remove the idea of a speech; but if the tone of mere conversation be adopted, there is no mode of depriving it of a kind of vulgarity, by any deportment.

The most perfect self-possession and good temper are as necessary in the committee-room as at the hustings, for a man's friends are often more unmanageable than his enemies: he can rebuke, deride, accuse, or contradict the latter; but must attend to the variety of absurdities advanced by the former, and endeavour to counteract them by acquiescence. It is strange how heated men become in supporting the cause of those from whose success they can derive no tangible advantage: zeal persuades them that all their suggestions are valuable; a thousand follies, opposed to each other, are proposed; and as they come from friends, must be attended to, and received with kindness.

It requires a large fund of patience, good sense, and good temper, to prevent the evils a candidate is subjected to, by the zeal of his partisans. He

should never oppose the suggestions of his committee by addressing them all, or reasoning against them; he can only proceed in this course by conversing with his friends individually, lessening the earnestness of some, communicating doubts to others, proposing delay till the heat wears off, &c. &c.; and thus the general effect will be weakened, and his difficulty will vanish of itself. Direct opposition would produce estrangement, or coolness in the pursuit of his object.

CHAP. VI.

SPEAKING AT CONVIVIAL MEETINGS.

At convivial meetings the candidate is surrounded by real and pretended friends, open and disguised enemies; and traps are laid to exhibit him to disadvantage, and to lead to declarations which may embarrass him at a future time. Good jokes and merriment are the order of the day; but his mirth and hilarity, on these occasions, must be like the lively music of a regular harmonist; discretion is the fundamental note on which the whole air depends.

It requires much varied talent, reading, and observation, to speak well at these convivial meetings: a quickness of allusion, and adroit management of the topics of a preceding speaker's address, have more effect in making a speech after dinner, than eloquence itself. The greatest statesman may perhaps make a poor figure, and be thought

dull or ridiculous, when addressing a convivial meeting.

Of all kinds of awkwardness, an attempt at facetiousness, or graceful levity, by one without a natural disposition for them, is the most awkward. Therefore let no man attempt gay sallies at a public dinner, unless they so press forward to his lips, as to escape almost in spite of him.

One of the greatest proofs of wit, is the use of a kind of figurative language precisely adapted to persons, things, times, circumstances, and places; for a fertile fancy is so stored with sensible images, that a speaker possessing it may illustrate, amplify, or enforce his topics by allusions to many different things, all fit for the general purpose of illustration, &c. &c.; but it requires a quick and delicate tact to select, at the instant, the precise image which pleases, and impresses most, the particular set of persons addressed. There could not be produced from the stores of ancient or modern eloquence, a more striking instance of this faculty, than Mr. Canning's allusion to the ships in ordinary at Plymouth, when he wished, in

1823, to prove to the inhabitants of that town, that the pacific attitude of Great Britain was no proof of want of energy or power.* It

* "Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—I accept with thankfulness, and with greater satisfaction than I can express, this flattering testimony of your good opinion and goodwill. I must add, that the value of the gift itself has been greatly enhanced by the manner in which your worthy and honorable Recorder has developed the motives which suggested it, and the sentiments which it is intended to convey.

"Gentlemen, your Recorder has said very truly, that whoever in this free and enlightened State aims at political eminence, and discharges political duties, must expect to have his conduct scrutinized, and every action of his public life sifted with no ordinary jealousy, and with no sparing criticism; and such may have been my lot as much as that of other public men. But, gentlemen, unmerited obloquy seldom fails of an adequate, though perhaps tardy compensation. I must think myself, as my honorable friend has said, eminently fortunate, if such compensation as he describes has fallen to me at an earlier period than to many others; if I dare flatter myself (as his partiality has flattered me), that the sentiments that you are kind enough to entertain for me, are in unison with those of the country; if, in addition to the justice done me by my friends, I may, as he has assured me, rely upon a candid construction, even from political opponents.

"But, gentlemen, the secret of such a result does not

flattered the auditors; was clearly understood by every one of them; and proved invincibly that

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lie deep. It consists only in an honest and undeviating pursuit of what one conscientiously believes to be one's public duty—a pursuit which, steadily continued, will, however detached and separate parts of a man's conduct may be viewed under the influence of partialities or prejudices, obtain for it, when considered as a whole, the approbation of all honest and honorable minds. Any man may occasionally be mistaken as to the means most conducive to the end which he has in view; but if the end be just and praise-worthy, it is by that that he will be ultimately judged, either by his contemporaries or by posterity. (Much applause.)

"Gentlemen, the end which I confess I have always had in view, and which appears to me the legitimate object of pursuit to a British statesman, I can describe in one word. The language of modern philosophy is wisely and diffusely benevolent; it professes the perfection of our species, and the amelioration of the lot of all mankind. Gentlemen, I hope that my heart beats as high for the general interest of humanity—I hope that I have as friendly a disposition towards other nations of the earth, as any one who vaunts his philanthropy most highly; but I am contented to confess, that in the conduct of political affairs, the grand object of my contemplation is the interest of England. (Much applause.)

"Not, gentlemen, that the interest of England is an interest which stands isolated and alone. The situation

apparent inertness, and real active power, may co-exist in the same subject: the proof did not require

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which she holds forbids an exclusive selfishness; her prosperity must contribute to the prosperity of other nations, and her stability to the safety of the world. (Bursts of applause.) But, intimately connected as we are with the system of Europe, it does not follow that we are therefore called upon to mix ourselves on every occasion, with a restless and meddling activity, in the concerns of the nations which surround us. It is upon a just balance of conflicting duties, and of rival but sometimes incompatible advantages, that a Government must judge when to put forth its strength, and when to husband it for occasions yet to come.

"Our ultimate object must be the peace of the world. That object may sometimes be best attained by prompt exertions—sometimes by abstinence from the interposition in contests which we cannot prevent. It is upon these principles that, as has been most truly observed by my worthy friend, it did not appear to the Government of this country to be necessary that Great Britain should mingle in the recent contest between France and Spain. (Applause.)

"Your worthy Recorder has accurately classed the persons who would have driven us into that contest. There were undoubtedly among them those who desired to plunge this country into the difficulties of war, partly from the hope that those difficulties would overwhelm the Administration; but it would be most unjust not to admit that there were others who were actuated by nobler prin-

a process of the understanding; it struck the mind as light strikes the eye; and the figure also pre-

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ciples and more generous feelings, who would have rushed forward at once from the sense of indignation at aggression, and who deemed that no act of injustice could be perpetrated from one end of the universe to the other, but that the sword of Great Britain should leap from its scabbard to avenge it. (Applause.) But as it is the province of law to control the excess even of laudable passions and propensities in individuals, so it is the duty of Government to restrain within due bounds the ebullition of national sentiment, and to regulate the course and direction of impulses which it cannot blame. Is there any one among the latter class of persons described by my honorable friend (for to the former I have nothing to say), who continues to doubt whether the Government did wisely in declining to obey the precipitate enthusiasm which prevailed at the commencement of the contest in Spain? (Applause.) Is there any body who does not now think, that it was the office of the Government to examine more closely all the various bearings of so complicated a question, to consider whether they were called upon to assist a united nation, or to plunge themselves into the internal feuds by which that nation was divided—to aid in repelling a foreign invader, or to take part in a civil war? (Applause.) Is there any man that does not now see what would have been the extent of burdens that would have been cast upon this country? Is there any one who does not acknowledge that under such circumstances the

cisely suited the extended view of the statesman, who desired to convey the sentiments of the Bri-

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enterprise would have been one to be characterized only by a term borrowed from that part of the Spanish literature with which we are most familiar,—Quixotic; an enterprise, romantic in its origin, and thankless in the end? —(Much applause.)

"But while we thus control even our feelings by our duty, let it not be said that we cultivate peace, either because we fear, or because we are unprepared for, war; on the contrary, if eight months ago the Government did not hesitate to proclaim that the country was prepared for war, if war should unfortunately be necessary;—every month of peace that has since passed, has but made us so much the more capable of exertion. The resources created by peace are means of war. (Applause.) In cherishing those resources, we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness;—how soon, upon any call of patriotism, or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion;—how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage;—how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. (Long and continued

tish Ministry to the European Cabinets, through the ears of the unsuspecting inhabitants of Plymouth.

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thunders of applause.) Such as is one of these magnificent machines when springing from inaction into a display of its might—such is England herself, while apparently passive and motionless she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion. But God forbid that that occasion should arise. After a war sustained for nearly a quarter of a century — sometimes single-handed, and with all Europe arranged at times against her or at her side, England needs a period of tranquillity, and may enjoy it without fear of misconstruction. Long may we be enabled, gentlemen, to improve the blessings of our present situation, to cultivate the arts of peace, to give to commerce, now reviving, greater extension and new spheres of employment, and to confirm the prosperity now generally diffused throughout this island. Of the blessing of peace, gentlemen, I trust that this borough, with which I have now the honour and happiness of being associated, will receive an ample share. I trust the time is not far distant, when that noble structure of which, as I learn from your Recorder, the box with which you have honoured me, through his hands, formed a part, that gigantic barrier against the fury of the waves that roll into your harbour, will protect a commercial marine not less considerable in its kind than the warlike marine of which your port has been long so distinguished an asylum, when the town of Plymouth will participate in the commercial prosperity as largely as it has hitherto done in the naval glories of England." [The Hon. Gent. sat down amidst bursts of cheering, which lasted for several minutes.]

But if he had wished to convey his views to foreign ministers, through the channel of a speech to his former constituents at Liverpool, he might have used the same figure, and the speech would have been equally admired by a stranger, and his political object would have been been equally gained. But Mr. Canning's taste is too perfect to allow him to say a word about ships in ordinary in a speech at Liverpool, because his hearers could not feel the full force of the allusion by having had such ships continually before their eyes. If he spoke of ships, he would refer to those which entered the Mersey: and if he made the speech in an inland place, his talent would have supplied some sensible image familiar to his hearers, which would have equally illustrated his argument and conveyed his sentiments to their destination.

At convivial meetings people are predisposed to every thing light, cheerful, and entertaining; and whatever suggests serious political reflections, or leads the mind away from the table and the good-humour connected with it, is injurious.

Let us suppose a speaker to be hostile to such

a minister as Mr. Pitt. He may say: "Nobody can refuse to admit, that the minister possesses great endowments, and inflexible integrity, nor can any one here deny that this is some of the soundest and best claret that was ever shipped from the Garonne; but should we like to drink a corked bottle of this wine, gentlemen?—Now, Mr. Pitt is like a corked bottle of excellent wine; his essential qualities are of the first order, but all his measures are tainted, corked as it were by," &c. &c. &c.

Or if the speaker were an opponent of Mr. Fox, his words may be something like these: "Charles Fox is a man of genius, and a generous fellow; his pictures of human society under a more popular government are bright and sparkling, like the champagne we drank at dinner: but even now, gentlemen, I feel an acid in my stomach from the mixture of roast beef with that flimsy liquor, and must resort to Epsom or magnesia to-morrow morning. If we follow Charles Fox's brilliant schemes of improvement, old England would soon feel

qualm-sick, and want physic;—but the physic of a nation, gentlemen, is a civil war."

A story aptly introduced is all-powerful on these occasions, but it must be short, sharp, and decisive; not an unnecessary word employed, the point stinging, and the effect general and instantaneous. It ought to command attention with outstretched necks until the last sentence, and then produce one loud, long, and universal laugh at the expense of the party to be decried.

"The circumstance reminds me, gentlemen, of a certain dapper little Baronet who used to ride catch-weight races, dance most exquisitely, and gallant the ladies with such grace and elegance, that many of them wished he could be set in gold as a locket, that they might wear him at the end of their necklace. It so happened, that he fell desperately in love with a very spirited girl, who was his inferior in rank and fortune; after much debate and many struggles with himself, he at last determined that he would marry her at every sacrifice; and when he made his declaration to her

with an air of graceful confidence, and the most amiable condescension,—what do you think, gentlemen, was her reply?—'Really, Sir Knight Baronet,' said she, 'I should not know where to put you if you were my husband, for you're too little for a bed, and too big for a cradle.'

CHAP. VII.

SPEAKING FROM HUSTINGS.

THE louder a man can bellow, the more ruffian air he can assume, the more heartless his character, the more bronzed his impudence, the more callous his insensibility, the better will be his chance of making a figure upon the hustings. Indeed, the oratory suited to the place is very similar to the music, which is, by long prescription, marrow-bones and cleavers.

The bellua multorum capitum is the only hearer; it is always at the disposal of its keepers to kick, horn, and trample whomsoever may excite their displeasure.

But it is a custom for members of parliament and candidates for seats, to exhibit themselves on the hustings; and it is right that they should so far lay aside their personal feelings as to do so. The custom is beneficial to the public, and there

can be no humiliation in defeat where victory is disgraceful.

If a candidate perceive that some popular ruffian is prepared to insult him on this occasion, his temper must be put in greater requisition than his intellect; for it is only by perfect coolness and self-command that he will be able to defend himself with dignity.

He should never contend with his adversary, or endeavour to confute or expose him, but simply declare the truth, and leave the case to be decided at every man's pleasure. If numbers of the mob attempt to embarrass him by questions, jests, false assertions, &c. &c. his course must be that of a brave individual cutting his way through a body of the enemy: he flies when he can, turns and cuts a straggler, parries blows he dare not return, and is lucky to get off with a few flesh-wounds and bruises; for what man exists who is not open to a shaft of malice, vengeance, or ridicule?

If he find his hearers in good-humour, and inclined to listen to him, he will be sure of success by treating them in a jovial laughing strain, coming

down to their level, flattering their habits, and trying to persuade them that he is as good a fellow as any of themselves. But there are some orators of no mean pretensions, who command the mob by their popular conduct, yet generally attempt to please them from the hustings, by allusions to Greeks, Romans, the age of Leo; the age of Louis, the revival of learning, &c. &c. &c. The eloquence of some of these gentlemen, when speaking from the hustings, is full of metaphor, because figurative language is suited to the vulgar ear; but they employ twenty images in a speech, which are as unintelligible to their hearers as the Dutch Ambassador's description of skating was to the Chinese Emperor. We often perceive that these figures are applauded at the conclusion; for the fellows who compose a mob have plenty of common-sense, and they know there is something fine intended, and therefore applaud their favourite, as the upper gallery begins to clap when the singer shakes. It is known that this is the finest part of the song.

If one of the classical orators alluded to, desired to call in the aid of a dog to give an amusing turn

to his argument, it is probable he would proceed thus;—which would be in the worst taste when addressing such an assembly.

"It is recorded in history, gentlemen, that the renowned Alcibiades, when he exercised the chief authority at Athens, had a very beautiful dog, which was a general favourite with the people, and was particularly remarked for having the most beautiful tail that had ever belonged to a dog. One day the dog appeared without his tail, for his master had cut it off to the stump, and the sensitive Athenians were ready to rise in insurrection against their ruler for this egregious act of wanton cruelty. When some of his confidential friends, alarmed at what appeared to be in progress, went to tell to Alcibiades the danger of his position and the cause, he smiled and said,—let the people rail at my cruelty, and expend their fury upon the dog's tail;' they will then have little time to scrutinize my public conduct. This is the way, gentlemen, you are treated by your rulers,—they at one time divert you with Chinese bridges, castles in the air, and follies no better than a handsome dog with a beautiful tail, and, at another, they excite your

anger by some petty opposition to your feelings, like that of preventing you from paying the last honours to your persecuted Queen. They are only fit to be the tyrants of a Greek city, gentlemen, and not the responsible ministers of a great and free people." Here he would certainly be applauded, for his hearers must know that something very fine was intended, and so much history ought not to go for nothing.

In speaking from hustings to a mob, if a dog were to be made use of, it would be better to introduce him thus:—

"My friends, you are all of you acquainted with the renowned dog Billy,* who has made as much noise as the famous horse who had his head where his tail ought to be; and by the way, this country is now in as awkward a position as that horse, for the minister at its head is much fitter to be at its tail, and so it has its tail where its head ought to

* Every reader of the newspapers must be acquainted with the exploits of this wonderful dog, whose power of killing a hundred and forty rats in two minutes and a half, procured for his master the patronage of many gentlemen of fortune, and, it is even said, of some members of Parliament.

be. But, gentlemen, this dog Billy has killed so many rats, that he must soon petition the House of Commons to allow him a supply from within its walls; and if he can extinguish the race there, as he has nearly done in the neighbourhood of the pit, he will be worthy of becoming a new dog-star, and taking his place with the animals in the sky. But this has nothing to do with my argument: I wished to inform you, that a bill was lately introduced into the House by a very humane gentleman, who thinks every jolly butcher amongst you little better than a murderer, and the ministers opposed it on the hypocritical pretence that they would not interfere with the amusements of the people;—but, gentlemen, they cared no more for your pleasures than for the pains of the sporting animals supplied by Providence for your pastime; they only considered that the more time you devoted to the humours of the pit, the less would you have to examine the baneful tendency of their public conduct."

In this case there would be no applause, because every man of the mob could, in his own opinion,

make as good a speech himself: the audience would be in good-humour with the speaker, and inclined to promote the success of so good a fellow; one who liked the same amusements, and joined in their ways of thinking and speaking.

Although the latter speech seems at first view to be only the conversation of a tap-room, it requires ten times the study of the foregoing one; for every word is selected for the production of a particular effect, as a short analysis will show:—

"The dog Billy."

People are always flattered at an attention paid to their amusements, but particularly so, if their diversion arises from a pursuit not generally approved; such as cock-fighting, pugilism, &c. &c. The dog of Alcibiades, or the dog of Montargis, would have only served to illustrate the argument in an amusing way; but the dog Billy's name, associated as it is with their highest diversion, puts the audience at once into good-humour.

"Made as much noise as the horse who had his head where his tail ought to be."

It might be, "made as much noise as the famous horse Eclipse or Bucephalus;" but this would not be in correct taste; for as the dog Billy is a mock-heroic animal, he should be compared to something that has a ridicule attached to it. Besides, the present form gives the opportunity of passing a joke against the ministry in a manner precisely suited to the mob.

"This dog Billy has killed so many rats, that he must soon petition the House of Commons to be allowed a supply from within its walls."

The rats of the House are standing subjects for jest even amongst themselves; for last year's rat is as ready to laugh at his fellow of yesterday, as if he possessed the independence of Bubb Doddington.* But to the mob every joke, however bad, directed against their rulers, is sure of a good reception. The mob of Rome, though believing the Popes to have power of eternal damnation over

* See his Diary.

them; have always been ready for a pasquinade against them. Such allusions keep up the attention and good-humour of the hearers.

"I wished to inform you, that a bill was lately introduced into the House by a very humane gentleman."

This sneer at Mr. Martin's humanity is very grateful to the mob, who bear him great hostility, for bringing up butchers, coachmen, &c. &c. before the magistrate.

"Who thinks every jolly butcher amongst you little better than a murderer."

The word "jolly" here decides the question between Mr. Martin and the butchers, and proves the speaker to be at their side; it also shows off Mr. M.'s humanity in a ridiculous point of view.

"But, gentlemen, they cared no more for your pleasures than for the pains of the sporting animals supplied by Providence for your amusement."

In this sentence ministers are shown to be hypocrites, regardless equally of the people's pleasure, or the animals' pain; and the sport is justified by the phrase, "supplied by Providence;" and it requires a justification, for it is admitted to be cruel by all.

"They only considered, the more time you devoted to the humours of the pit, the less would you have to examine the baneful tendency of their public conduct."

This winds up the speech according to the speaker's view of hostility to government, and draws a serious conclusion from all the ridiculous topics intended to excite mirth.

Much more has been said on the subject of speaking from hustings, than the beginning of this chapter would seem to authorise: but all members are occasionally called upon to speak from hustings, and it is right that they should be prepared to make a good figure when they appear. If a man's feelings disqualify him for confronting the brutality of a mob and its leaders, he may keep silent; but

he often injures himself by such a course, and it is better that he should come forward in public, and make the people familiar with him by degrees.

All human creatures, when they congregate in large assemblies, resign their reasoning powers as individuals, and are guided by an instinct, which operates on them invincibly. Therefore it will be found that all mobs are alike, whether courtiers, nobles, or the common people; if crowded together in great masses, the actions of the body will be the same.

An orator addressing such a body must regulate his conduct according to the symptoms he perceives—whether of anger, good-humour, liking or disliking: all the art of eloquence in its perfection will not put an angry mob into good-humour; but if any favourable movement occur in its own feelings, an expert orator will be able in a moment to direct the current of its passions to his own ends.

During the reign of terror in France, the mob paraded the streets of Paris, to find victims for its vengeance,—and it was proposed by one of the crowd to go and massacre the youths at the col-

leges, who were probably the sons of aristocrats and would become enemies of the people when they grew up. The idea was eagerly seized, and a phalanx of wretches proceeded down the Boulevard des Italiens, to begin their work at the Bourbon college. Some good men joined the crowd with the hope of allaying its fury; but all their efforts were unavailing, until somebody cried out, "Prenez garde, mes amis, que nous ne tuons nos enfans." (Let us take care we don't kill our own children.)—The joke was caught, ran from one to the other in a moment, and the mob felt so pleased at the idea, that it was a very easy matter to turn them from their object, and send them away to carouse at their separate drinking-houses, where each amused himself in relating the joke to his companions.

Another instance of this kind may be given, from a circumstance that occurred at the last general election.—A gentleman whose figure had not the outlines of perfect symmetry, had endeavoured repeatedly to gain a hearing from the hustings, and was as often hissed and hooted away.

by the crowd. He could speak well, and he knew it; therefore he persevered in presenting himself, and at last one of the hissers, cried out, "Let's hear Old Guts." This excited a general laugh; he began his speech in good-humour, and took the joke against him in good part. In a few minutes he was cheered from every side, and he concluded by being almost popular, though a downright Tory.

It will be observed, that what has been said in this chapter refers only to speeches from hustings, where the audience is composed of a mob. In other cases the style here inculcated, would be as much out of place as in the House of Commons. When Burke spoke from the hustings at Bristol, his speeches were serious and argumentative, for they were addressed to men of intelligence and knowledge of the world. The style must depend on the character of the persons addressed, and not on that of the place of meeting.

CHAP. VIII.

SPEAKING IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FROM the peculiar constitution of our House of Commons, the style of eloquence calculated to succeed there, is different from any that has ever been cultivated by orators of other times and nations. It is a genus per se, and requires to be carefully studied by a young member, before he attempt to enter the arena of public discussion.

The leading cause of the difference of the style of eloquence adopted by the eminent speakers of our House of Commons, from that of the great masters of the art in Greece or Rome, is this—the former address themselves indirectly to an absent body, through the medium of the press; and the latter only sought to persuade the assembled multitude, or the assembled senate, who had no mode of communicating their impressions to others, but by words and gestures. The speaker's situation in

both cases naturally suggested the style of his oration: for he who depends upon the feelings of his audience only, may safely employ every art of look, gesture, or expression, to excite the passion he requires; he may allow himself to be hurried forward with a warmth, and energy, caught from the applause and animation of those around him, and to pour upon the ears of a rapt audience all those fervid images which rush uncalled upon his imagination, explode without reflection from his lips, and light up flames of energetic impulse in the mind of every hearer, that urge him forward as if by an imperious instinct to do the act the speaker wills. But the political declaimer, who knows that all the tongues of men and angels would be unable to wrest a single vote from the predetermination of his hearers,—who sees a file of penmen struggling to note down his winged words to form a subject for the morning criticism of every blockhead in the kingdom,—he must hold those powers in check which give to eloquence its distinctive character, and, like a falcon in a chamber, must fly on timid wings, lest the impulse given

by nature to elevate him in the skies, should force him to destruction, against the walls of his prison.

But although these circumstances tend to make the British orator merely a cold reciter of a studied argument, there is a correction to their effect, in the desire he feels to gain a reputation for eloquence from his hearers,—who are sufficiently inclined to applaud a proficiency in this delightful art,—whose judgment is paramount, their approbation a sterling mark to guide the opinion of others,—and who always consider the power of agitating a popular assembly, to be the first claim to public honours.

From the counter-operation of these two causes, the orator in the British House of Commons is warm, without being impassioned; ardent, though never what the ancients called energetic; his figures are apt, illustrative, and pleasing to the imagination, without approaching the sublime; and his animated looks, graceful gestures, and tuneful modulation of voice, awaken and maintain attention to his argument, instead of rivetting the eyes upon the contortions of a being, who at one time

appeared agitated by the spirit of the gods, and at another to be urged forward by a host of demons.

When a very young man begins a career in the House of Commons with a view to future distinction, he is exposed to three dangers, which require all his vigilance and self-command to avoid. These are, general views, classical allusions, and figurative language — all most valuable in the hands of the experienced statesman, and practised orator; but they never fail, when adopted by a young man, to subject him to the sneers of his elders, as a declaimer and a school-boy. It is not his business to speak like those amiable philanthropists at mixed assemblies of gentlemen and ladies, whose figures of speech fall detached from the body of their argument, like the brilliant globules of a Roman candle! He wants to be noted in silence by the influential men of parties, as one who only requires experience to become a man of business; an effective instrument of government, or opposition; a powerful supporter of his friends, and a thorn in the sides of his adversaries.

To obtain this notice in the House of Commons,

a young member must abound in facts and materials; he must reason closely,—not like a schoolman, who merely plays upon ideas according to fixed rules,—but like a man of the world, who calculates probabilities and judges of results, according to the common sense of mankind. He must deduce legitimate, and at the same time unexpected inferences from the facts relied on by his opponents, and show himself capable of holding within his mental view the whole train of an argument, seizing and exposing the weak points of his adversaries, and simplifying and illustrating the topics relied on by his friends. His speeches at first will be naturally disjointed, unpolished, and immethodical, and will make but little figure in a newspaper to the cursory reader; but they will bestow upon him more reputation, for the attainment of his leading object, than the most finished oration of an Academician.

To succeed in the course here recommended, he should have the habit of relying upon his own faculties in every emergency, and of drawing upon them alone. If he has not talents, let him never

open his lips except in presenting a petition;—but if he has, they will serve him at the instant in a manner beyond his hopes, press matter forward to his lips, and suggest more apt expressions than premeditation could supply him with; and after various failures, necessary to his inexperience, he will gradually acquire ease and self-possession, be capable of speaking extemporaneously with the smoothness and fluency of a sustained conversation, and be furnished almost without reflection with all the figures which a correct taste allows him to employ for ornament or illustration. As he advances, and acquires something like a name, he may unfold his stores of ancient and modern wit, but at all times sparingly; for nothing is more apt to estrange men of business from attending to any subject, than connecting it with that ideal world which they treat with contempt. In their eyes the greatest poets are the children of delusion; and to enforce an argument by quotations from their works, seems to such men as puerile as the Roman method of deciding a question by the state of the entrails, or the flight of birds.

After these general remarks, let us suppose that two men began their career in the session of 1824, and made their maiden speeches on the leading subject, the state of Ireland.

Let the speech of A. be imagined to contain such passages as the following:—

The speech of A. "If, Sir, we had no sacred record of the origin of the human race, if we had no other way of judging of the birth of man than reasoning from effect to cause, we still should be enabled to decide, that the inhabitants of this earth were one great family descended from the same parents, and we should do so with a certainty approaching to that with which we know that there is a God, from a view of the works of his hands. For we find in every period within the range of history and tradition, whether the people of this world have been barbarous or refined, connected with their fellows in great communities or isolated in petty districts, enslaved or free, in comfort or in misery,—no matter what difference in the physical condition of their country, in the religion or superstition of their parents, in the species of

control to which their adolescence had been subjected, in the general rules of conduct, whether moral or immoral, which had been given to them to guide their actions,—we still find the same desires, the same passions, the same motives, the same character imprinted by the hand of nature, with an uniformity equal to that which marks the stature of the human race. In the age of Abraham an unmerited aggression was followed by revenge, as well as at the present hour; in the forests of the ancient Germans, and in the court of Sardanapalus,—amongst the rude Scythians, and the gentle natives of Peru,—the man who spoiled the peaceful dwelling of his dependant was visited with the retaliation of open violence or secret fraud.

"Then why should we perplex ourselves in seeking for the causes of the singular disposition of the Irish peasants, when it has been fully admitted by the government, that from the first entrance of the British conqueror into their country, each family has been either exposed to lawless injury and insult, or harassed by perpetual apprehension of it? Even in those few short periods of impar-

tial government, which rise like oases in the great desert of Irish politics, though the peasant may have been 'tutus,' he could never be 'securus;' for he felt that his improved condition depended on the changeful favour of England to his governor, as well as on the uncertain tenure of individual life. So he feels this moment. What boots it to his reflections, that insult is withheld, and equal justice administered by his equitable Viceroy, while he observes the vulture hovering over the sheepfold, watchful for the removal of the shepherd, that he may strike again his talons into victims once more open to his fury?—In the bright serenity of a summer morning, a casual squall will sometimes split the top-sail of the mariner; but he quickly hoists another, and proceeds upon his course with confidence, in the pride and beauty of complete equipment: but in the loaded atmosphere of winter, let the clouds break off above his head, the sun shine clear, and the winds but fill the bosom of his sail,—he knows 'tis for a moment, and struggles with his reefs, and poles, rather than trust the treacherous season with his summer can-

vas. Thus it is with these two islands:—we occasionally see in England the fury of an insurrectionary mob; but it is a summer squall, no sooner felt than spent;—but in the sister island, where our policy keeps fixed on the horizon the black clouds of exclusion and oppression, the partial efforts to promote contentment and conciliation, are as powerless as the wintry gleam to give confidence to the experienced mariner.

"In all our intercourse with the Irish people, we have reversed the maxim of the Roman poet,—we have studied 'parcere superbis et debellare subjectis,' we have spared our own proconsuls, gifted, like the atrocious Verres, with the blood and suffering of a province, in recompense for acts that called loudly for his own,—and we have put an iron collar round the neck of him who yielded to our arms, and implored the clemency of his new sovereign. What have we gained by this course—at once impolitic, inhuman, and unjust? We have parcelled Europe at our pleasure,—restored the feeble, and expelled the strong; we shelter a new Continent from the attacks of tyrants, our name is

known and feared in every recess to which a ship can penetrate; we have conciliated or subdued whatever exists upon the globe opposed to our desires, " præter atrocem animum Catonis,"—the atrox animus of the Irish peasant pursues us like a murderer's midnight dream, and makes us pay for his past sufferings by our future fears."

This speech contains the three faults mentioned above—general views, figurative language, and classical allusions. The general views mere common-place to men of understanding, the figurative language mere nonsense, and the classical allusion nothing better than school-boyism. The " atrocem animum Catonis" has no more to say to the feelings of Irish peasants, than the " mens divinior" to their delegated representatives.

The member B. may be supposed to speak, at the other side, in this manner :—

" Sir, it really seems to me, that gentlemen bewilder themselves in an extraordinary manner, by ranging over time and space to find out reasons for the turbulence of the Irish peasantry. That

people has always been divested of every object of human desire, and they are so still; therefore they have been, and are, of necessity discontented:—but if it were in the power of Parliament to give every one of them, to-morrow, a new suit of clothes and a guinea, and to guaranty him a roast capon every Sunday in the year according to the benevolent wish of Henry IV., in two generations all trace of this bounty would be effaced by the exercise of his prevailing taste for increasing and multiplying; and a future parliament would be as much obliged to seek a remedy for the consequences of excessive poverty, as if the bounty I have imagined should never have been bestowed. The Irish are perpetually told that their country abounds with every species of wealth, from the gold of Wicklow to the potato which grows almost spontaneously in their happy climate; but they practically feel, that, if there is plenty of corn, it goes to feed the English manufacturer,—if of wool, that it is employed for clothing the wealthier classes. There is abundance of coals in Ireland; but as they lie some fifty fathoms deep, the peasant must resort to

brushwood for his daily fuel. This brushwood grows in his master's plantations; and, although he perish without it, he goes to jail for trespass, if he take it; he therefore hates his master for protecting his property, he hates the law for enabling him to protect it—the magistrate who enforces the law, the neighbour who was subpœna'd to give evidence against him, and of course the government, which bears the odium of all popular grievances.

"From these various modifications of hatred, arise the reactions, retaliations, and acts of private vengeance which constitute the ferocity and turbulence we complain of. The honorable gentleman is quite right in saying, the Irish peasant cannot be 'securus,' though he may be 'tutus,' under an impartial government; for his habitual acts are crimes, and 'tuta scelera esse possunt, secura non possunt.'

"If I were inclined to follow the honorable gentleman further in his arguments, I should say, that the eternal dispensations of Providence have condemned some portions of the human race to that

state of suffering which he has imaged by the gloom of a tempestuous season, and that governments can no more remove it, than they can dispel the clouds to which he has compared it. Ireland, from its local position, must be poor and unhappy,—either as a theatre of war between France and England, if independent—or an exhausted colony, if connected with either; and its inhabitants, possessing as they do a stronger desire to increase their poverty by procreation, than any European people, must suffer more misfortune, and by their quick feelings and eloquent expressions must impress their sufferings more strongly on the attention of others. The cries of such a people would be stifled by an arbitrary government, like those of many nations whose misfortunes do not reach our ears; but no body of laws, nor mode of administration has been suggested amongst men, which could make the cold, the hungry, or the naked contented, or induce them to live on terms of peace and kindness with the rich and happy."

These are the flippant opinions of youth and inexperience. The member, whose turn of mind

would lead him to make the above speech at two-and-twenty, would probably in after life endeavour to persuade the house, "that men in every stage of civilization might be made good subjects, by giving them institutions adapted to their wants and wishes.—The British government has always failed in Ireland, and continues to fail, by persevering in the vain attempt to force the man to fit the coat, instead of making the coat to fit the man. We cannot reason a rude people into the rejection of the habits that have been burnt into them, like colours into procelain, but we may work upon their senses and their natural feelings, by adopting the system by which good parents teach their children, —restraining from those faults that must be punished, and placing before their eyes, instead of telling them, the results of industry and economy, contrasted with those of sloth and disorder."*

* A proposition was made to the Irish Secretary, in the year 1823, to commence a system of practical education in Ireland, by establishing a set of Royal Farms in the

In this short speech there are neither details, nor references to history, nor any of that reason-

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rudest districts, and presenting models before the eyes of the people. It was thought, that a fashion thus introduced would soon be followed by the nobility and gentry, and the "King's pattern" house, and fence, and implements, (precisely adapted to the country), would become pretty general. By this means the sordid hut and small triangular field, with thistle hedge, would gradually disappear, and the only effectual check to over-population be given in the improved and more expensive, and therefore more difficult, construction of the peasant's dwelling.

"His Majesty's work" too, would be an object of ambition to the people; and those employed, and gradually promoted through the gradations from labourer to steward, would learn to respect themselves, and to restrain their friends and families from disgraceful conduct. Other advantages, unnecessary to detail, appear connected with such a plan.

Extract from a very curious Memorial presented by a Bishop to the King.

"In fact, the *Catholics* are in a state of extreme humiliation. Their ignorance, and especially their poverty, remove them to an infinite distance from the *Protestants*, who occupy the first rank in the population. The privileges which the law seems to concede to the Catholics, are

ing from particulars, which cannot be expected from a very young man. But at the same time

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of small advantage to them, perhaps they are rather hurtful. Such an union of deplorable circumstances has produced in them an indolence of mind, and that state of indifference and apathy, in which man is neither affected by hope nor fear.

"The *Catholics* and their children are branded with infamy by the law. This imprints on them an indelible stain. They consider it as a mark of slavery, transmissible to the latest generations.

"Amongst the families *who have intermarried with Protestants*, there are many who, from their *manners* and cultivation, might be confounded with the *Protestants*, but the law keeps them in a state of degradation and contempt. Endowed with an energetic ardent character, these persons live in a constant state of irritation against the *Protestants*; and we must be astonished, that their resentment does not more frequently dispose them to acts of vengeance.

"Now, Sire, what attachment can the *Catholic* have to the government, despised and degraded as he is, and without the hope of ameliorating his existence? He is merely attached to social life, by a tie which affords him no advantage.—Let not your Majesty believe, that the dread of punishment alone is sufficient to preserve tranquillity in this country—there must be other motives—there must be more powerful motives.

"If the new *Parliament*, which *Ireland* expects with impatience, do not occupy itself with the situation of the

the argument is all founded upon the idiosyncrasy of the subject, (if it may be so expressed,) and has none of those vague generalities, which may be

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Catholics, the influence which the clergy possess over the hearts of these unfortunate people will not be sufficient, however great it may be, to contain them in the submission and respect due to their Sovereign.

"Let the infamy which unjust laws have attempted to stamp upon the *Catholics* be at an end. Let them be declared capable of filling every civil employment. Let the odious impost of *tithe* be abolished. Let salaries be appointed for the *clergy of both denominations.* These are the principal points on which the felicity of the *Irish* people depends.

"It appears strange, no doubt, that in a juncture when the finances of the state are in a deplorable situation, we presume to propose the abolition of *tithe,* and the substitution of salaries: a very simple calculation will prove, however, that the adoption of the measures above indicated, and the conceding to the *Catholics* the rights of *citizens,* will considerably increase instead of diminishing the revenue of the state."

[Here follows a calculation.]

What will the reader say, after perusing the foregoing document, when he is told, that he may find it every word (except the names printed in Italics) in the Royal archives at Madrid, and that it is neither more nor less than the famous "Informe del Obispo de Valladolid, de Mechoa-

brought to bear upon either side of a question by moderate skill in the speaker.

This style in a debutant, evinces a power of examining closely his subject, and a disdain of common-place and the show of oratory; but when he has more experience, the substance of the speech of A. may be pruned, and would then be admissible as one branch of his argument.

For instance, the following is unobjectionable, except from the lips of a young man who has a character to make.

" If we had no sacred record of the origin of man, and were obliged to reason from effects to causes to prove the manner of his birth, we should still be able to decide, that the inhabitants

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can, al Rey, sobre Jurisdiccion e Ymunidades del Clero Americano?—The King who received it, a king of Spain; the Bishop who presented it, an ecclesiastic of the other hemisphere; the people it related to, the aborigines of a world unknown to those from whom we have derived our language, laws, and institutions!—Does it require another word, to prove the power of governments to assimilate their people to the inhabitants of Mexico, or to those of Great Britain?

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of this earth were descended from the same parents; for, in every age and nation within the range of history and tradition, their desires, motives, and feelings have been the same.—Though the colour of the skin will vary with the climate, the sentiments of the heart are as uniform as the measure of the stature. In the age of Abraham, an unmerited aggression was followed by revenge, as well as now: in the forests of the ancient Germans, or the court of Sardanapalus,—amongst the hardy Scythians, or the gentle natives of Peru,—the man who spoiled the peaceful dwelling of his dependant, was visited by the retaliation of open violence or secret fraud."

So far is admissible, as an introduction, when the speaker is known; but such a beginning would be dangerous to a young man; he would be listened to with great attention the first time he spoke, and coughed down probably the second.

The figurative language which suits the House of Commons, must suddenly pour upon the imagination of the audience, by an unexpected sentence, allusion, or even appropriate word, a new view of

the subject of debate. It must amplify or illustrate the argument, as a sudden gleam of light displays the hidden parts of visible objects.

It is never to be forgotten by the student, that the serious business and the great interests of life compose the subject of every discussion. There is no place for eloquence as a mere art, like poetry or painting;—it is only to be used as an instrument for carrying forward the great objects of the speaker,—therefore, (if it may be said without presumption,) that exquisite figure of Burke transcribed in the note,* which is one of the noblest passages of ancient or modern eloquence, was not adapted to the House of Commons, because it was merely a beautiful passage of oratory, and did not illustrate nor strengthen his argument. Its tendency was to draw away the attention from the

* "The scarcity which you have felt, would have been a desolating famine, if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had not held the full bosom of her youthful exuberance to the mouth of her exhausted parent."

subject of debate, and fix it upon the beauty of the figure alone. But when Mr. Canning said, on the occasion of the battle of Vittoria, (which first gave solid hopes of the subversion of revolutionary principles,) "I see the towers and battlements of ancient institutions emerging from the mist," &c. &c.,—here he presented a more vivid picture of the benefits of that victory which it was his purpose to extol, than could be done by any argument, description, or explanation. The effect was precisely that of the morning sun-beam falling upon the land, which the seaman has been watching for through a tempestuous night. From the stillest silence, which prevailed in the house, a sudden burst of admiration and applause arose, which rendered the conclusion of the passage unknown to every body but the speaker.

Mr. Grattan's well-known figure in his panegyric on Lord Chatham, was strictly suited to the House of Commons, "With one hand he smote the House of Bourbon, and with the other wielded the democracy of England;"—but another passage

of the same orator, which has been much admired, was not suitable. "In his youth he resembled the ocean in a storm, and in his old age he may be compared to the ocean in a calm — and, like the ocean either in a storm or a calm, he was a great production of nature."

This was rather calculated for a funeral oration, or an academical discourse, than for a speech in a popular assembly.

On the subject of classical allusion, it may be laid down as a general rule, that every serious argument upon a political question is weakened by it. A young statesman should have his intellectual faculties composed (as it were) of the ideas, arguments, and expressions of the ancient orators and historians, as his blood and bones are formed from the animal food of his daily meals; but he should always keep in mind the maxim of Epictetus.

There are many subjects, however, debated in the House of Commons, which freely admit allusions and quotations, not only to ancient times

and from classical authors, but to scenes of poetry and romance, and from the writers of fiction. For purposes of ridicule, quotations from the poets are particularly successful. For instance, if an opponent had argued a question in a confused, labouring, ineffective manner, constantly approaching the inference he wanted, yet never able to perceive it—he may be answered thus :—

"The Honorable Gentleman has struggled through his argument,

"As when a dab chick waddles through the copse
On feet and wings, and flies, and wades, and hops—"

just labouring so, with the shoulders, hands, and head of his powers of ratiocination, did the Honorable Gentleman proceed to seize his inference, but it slipped through his fingers."

In panegyric, quotations may be freely indulged in, because it is the speaker's object to use more forcible expressions of admiration than his modesty allows him to expect from his own sources,—he therefore resorts to the works of men of genius; and also upon those subjects of declamatory eloquence, in which the argument is founded upon

the great principles of moral and political philosophy, a speaker may take the widest range, and embody passages from the works of every established authority in his speech, — whether poets, moralists, or historians. He wants to take the most enlarged view of human nature, and, to exhibit the various aspects in which it has appeared to the first men in every age and nation.

Such general views of human nature are required in questions upon the slave-trade, and some others; but these are the only occasions for the exercise of eloquence as a mere art, and here alone may the orator of the House of Commons indulge the "mens divinior, atque os magna sonaturum."

What has been said of the style of speaking to be adopted by young members of the House of Commons, refers to those who feel the power and inclination to advance themselves by their public conduct, and to attain the rewards of public men. But there are many without the talents or ambition for high distinction, who nevertheless desire to see their name in a debate, and to hold a certain po-

litical rank. These men should seriously examine themselves, upon their first election, and discover the qualities they possess which may be employed to most advantage:—a good figure, good voice, correct enunciation, and gentlemanly deportment, will enable their possessor to hold a place without any great powers of mind, if he has sense to know how far to go, and where to stop;—but if he presume a point upon the favourable reception they bestow upon him, when presenting a petition, or speaking on a subject of routine, he will lose himself, in the opinion of the house, and become ridiculous. Such a man can never recover a failure; but he, who feels substantial powers for the business of a debate, will struggle against fifty defeats, and succeed in the end:—each failure is to him a valuable lesson.

Again, there are men of sterling abilities, whose minds are stored with the various branches of knowledge necessary for a statesman, and who possess an intuitive power of comparing, contrasting, and estimating probabilities at the true value, and calling forth at will, the whole or any part of

their varied stores; yet they can never present themselves in public without injuring the cause they attempt to plead: a deficiency of air, manner, voice, confidence, health, or some other external, estranges the attention, and they lose their audience before there is sufficient time to enter into the subject matter of the argument.

These men should reserve themselves for important committees, converse with their friends upon the business of debate, and employ their pen upon great subjects where they wish to take a part.

An attention to these cautions would prevent many men from attempting to reason, with faculties which only allow them to relate,—and would prevent others from lessening their own true value, by putting themselves in situations fitted to superficial minds and external advantages.

If a young man possesses a tolerable understanding, and examines himself well upon his entrance into parliament, he will obtain an honorable place, without possessing any of those extraordinary endowments which nature bestows on few of her

children ; — the range of subjects is so wide—the mode of treating them so different—so many channels of political exertion remain open to those who only aspire to be useful, without thinking of being admired.

CHAP. IX.

CONDUCT ON A COMMITTEE.

To appear to advantage on committees, requires powers so different from those of a speaker in the house,—and so many are qualified for the one, who are totally incapacitated for the other,—that he who feels himself deficient in the essentials of public exhibition, would do well to study deeply the subjects which are generally submitted to such select bodies. A habit of reflecting upon them in detail, will enable him to manage any new question, as it is referred to a committee. He will at once be able to divide the whole into its several branches, compare and qualify the circumstances, bestow its just weight upon the distinct pieces of evidence, which often conflict with each other, and discover what points require further proof, what witnesses or classes of witnesses are prejudiced towards particular opinions, and what course

of investigation he ought to pursue to acquire a comprehensive view of the whole subject. Every great question submitted to a parliamentary committee is to be argued by induction; and the truth can only be found by previously collecting all the detached particulars, which form the elements of the calculation. In all reasoning, the first part is to collect the circumstances which in any way influence the question—the second, to attribute to each its proper weight and importance: when these two tasks have been performed, the conclusion is drawn by intuition. The whole of human error arises from the imperfect collection of materials, and the unjust value we ascribe to them in their influence on each other: therefore, an investigator should apply with unceasing assiduity, to possess himself of every circumstance which affects his question.

The young committee-man's first part, is to store his mind with all the general reasoning which has been employed by the acknowledged authorities, to sustain the leading propositions of different sects of economists or politicians. It is

not enough that he knows the results of the reasoning, (as every one knows the square of the hypotenuse to equal the squares of the sides,) but he must be able readily to place the parts of the argument in such juxtaposition as to exhibit the agreement of the ideas at once: if he differs from a conclusion, he must first show the reasons for the affirmative, and then the fallacy, according to his views, which they contain;—not in the vulgar way of making an opponent argue weakly, that he may gain a victory over him; but placing his antagonist in the strongest ground he would be able to mark out for himself, and dislodging him, if not in a manner to convince others, at all events legitimately. After such general reading, the great body of Reports of Parliamentary Committees on leading subjects, with the evidence at length, is to be carefully studied. In many of these will be found gross errors in fact, inference, and recommendation to the House; but, in all, there is a valuable mass of detail, a view of the conflicts of human testimony, and an opportunity of tracing the error to its source, which cannot be found elsewhere. On no account

should he attend the courts, or study the evidence of legal questions, — because the testimony of those engaged in the collisions of the law, is oftener suggested by irascible passions, than a consideration of their true interest. The statesman and politician have nothing to do in the competitions of individuals; their views extend to classes, societies, nations; and their justice is to be exerted like the care and benevolence of nature, which is often obliged to overlook the individual, in regard for the species.

If a young member should wish to qualify himself to sit on a committee,—(let us suppose) upon the corn laws,—he should carefully study Smith, Malthus, Hume, Stewart, Ricardo, Say, and Sismondi, as the general reasoners upon the great subject of which his question is one branch; and his study should enable him to enter into the whole argument between the economists and the mercantile regulators — to show the mistake of Smith in so strongly preferring agriculture to trade and foreign commerce. He should follow Malthus through his beautiful argument from end

to end, and not be satisfied to assent to the geometrical exposition at the beginning. He would next clear up those points which Stewart considered obscure, and connect a wider field of known facts with the reasoning of Hume. Ricardo and Say are opposed sometimes to each other; both are occasionally caught with the beauty of a problem, and calculate men too much like ciphers. He would probably satisfy his mind, that Ricardo's theory of rent is not as true, as its mathematical form would make it appear to be; and that Say's idea of the infinite demand for the product of labour, is little better than the old paradox of the approximation of the asymptotes,—what cannot be denied, and what nobody will believe.

His next part would be, to read the works of the philosophical agriculturists, at the head of whom stands Arthur Young:—but these writers are to be very cautiously assented to, whenever they pass the limits of their own experience, and attempt to draw a general conclusion.

He should also make himself acquainted with the works of those who have considered the

condition of the poor, and may select the writings of Sir Frederick Eden, and Colquhoun. Various tracts by eminent men at periods of scarcity and commercial distress will be of use;—the pamphlets of those men of business especially, who have treated in detail the local circumstances which suggested their inquiry.

He will find much advantage from a perusal of the controversial writings on the free trade of corn in France; which was a subject of long and acrimonious debate towards the middle of the last century. He will be able to trace the causes by which the eminent men of that day were deceived, by having the prediction and result together before him. The modern statesman, as well as the astronomer, has less excuse for error in his calculations, than his predecessors; for he is enabled, by the mere lapse of time, to compare so many arguments with the events that followed, that he frequently is supplied with a correction of error which had been totally unknown to those who reasoned in the earlier ages.

The successive changes of the corn laws, and

the consequent state of prices, of trade, and of popular comfort, should be perfectly well known to him. In the beginning of the last century we were an exporting country; in the latter part of it, we required a large import:—in the beginning of the present century, it was thought impossible to find a sufficient breadth of land to grow corn for the population; within the last ten years we have been advised, by high authority, to abandon a great portion of the arable land, because the produce was beyond the power of consumption,—and in the present session, (1826,) it has been announced by the same high authority, that the country is incapable of growing sufficient corn for herself. All these variations of opinion have been caused either by the changes of the law, or changes in the views of ministers; and it is the young statesman's business to discover the modes by which the law effected its object, and the reasons why in some instances the views of the Legislature were baffled by the course of events.

After the preparations here advised, he will find an amusing recreation in conversing with his coun-

try friends upon the productive powers of land, the relation between labour and produce, the consumption of the cultivator himself, and the surplus which remains for other classes; the limits to production imposed by the necessity of fallows and manures; the effect of the food of the common people of a country, in enabling the soil to maintain a greater or less population; the periodical occurrence of years and cycles of scarcity and abundance; and the variety of details which can only be acquired from a practical agriculturist.

When the witnesses come to be examined before the committee, it may be advantageous to the young member to take upon himself the investigation of one narrow branch of the subject, and to confine his questions to that point alone. When more experienced, he will naturally take a wider range, and examine the question in all its bearings: but a young member can perform no service so useful to himself and the committee, as to provide a series of elements for the final calculation, by a methodical, consistent, and scrutinizing examination of the witnesses upon one particular branch.

In examining on the corn laws, he may take to himself the inquiry of the effect of cheap corn upon the interests indirectly connected with agriculture — upon small tradesmen, in the various branches, who ultimately derive the reward of their labour from the plough; or he may ascertain the cost-price of foreign corn from different ports, the tolls of rivers, distance of carriage, freight and other charges,—so as to give every thing knowable on that head, in a compact form to the committee, at the end.

This practice of hunting out the truth on one detached part of the subject, through the self-interest, professional prejudices, and misinformation of the witnesses, gives a young man the tact, and readiness of combination, essential to the conduct of affairs. It also teaches the great art of collecting fully the materials for an argument, before he begins to consider his conclusion; an art less understood than any other in the range of philosophy.

The manner of questioning a witness who attends the committee, requires to be very carefully

considered by a young member, before he exhibits himself, as an examiner. It is totally different from that of a counsel in the courts of law. The object is not to elicit the truth of a disputed fact, or to detect the wilful falsehood of a witness, but merely to obtain that knowledge of the subject, which reflection and observation have bestowed upon the witness himself.

Questions, therefore, which perplex, abash, or irritate, defeat their own purpose; for they disqualify the witness from giving the information he possesses in the clear and comprehensive manner required. They also prevent the examiner from obtaining the opinions of the examined upon the facts of his observation; for a feeling of shame, or of opposition, will naturally induce him either to modify or exaggerate what he perceives to excite ridicule or anger.

The merit of the question consists in directing the witness's attention to that part of his knowledge which, bearing most particularly upon the subject before the committee, is least accessible to inquirers, and in leading him to explain in the

most concise form of words, all the essential points, and nothing else.

Examples:—

Questions to an importer of corn by the member A.

Q. State to the committee from what ports this country is usually supplied with corn, when importation is allowed by law?

Q. What freights have you known paid for grain from the Baltic and Odessa, and for beans from Leghorn and Alexandria?

Q. What reduction of price have you known to occur in the home market, on the opening of the ports, and the free admission of foreign corn?

It is obvious, that the time of the committee is merely wasted by these questions; for an answer to the first, may be obtained in any book of statistics, — to the second, from any ship-broker of the city,—and to the third, from the returns of the corn-inspector appointed by the act.

Questions by the member B.

Q. Can you inform the committee what quan-

tity of corn was contained in the stores and magazines of the several countries from which we import grain, in the quarter previous to the last opening of the ports, and also what quantity was bonded at the same time in Great Britain?

Q. Can you state the expense of transporting corn, from the most distant ports of the interior, where it is now grown for exportation, to the several shipping ports?

Q. Can you form an opinion, from personal observation of the principal corn countries, to what extent new lands would be brought into cultivation, if there were an annual demand for all the corn which would be grown, and no limit except that of price?

These questions have the merit inculcated by the foregoing precept; they lead the witness directly to that part of his knowledge which is most valuable to the committee to learn, which is not accessible from other sources; and the form of the questions gives him no opportunity for digressing from the main subject.

It is of importance to a young member to be placed on a committee, if he resolve to do his duty efficiently; but it is injurious, if he attend as an idle or mere observer. Emptiness and want of ability are much sooner exposed in a committee, than in the house.

CHAP. X.

SPEAKING IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

As many young noblemen enter upon the career of public life at a very early period, it may be right to say a few words upon the style of speaking adapted to the House of Lords.

The style of the House of Lords does not resemble that of the great masters of the art; nor is it the style of the House of Commons, the Pulpit, or much less the Bar. It is formed, like that of the other great assembly, expressly from its own peculiar circumstances, and is, in its perfection, also, a genus per se. It is, however, seldom witnessed in perfection, because the most distinguished men generally begin their career in the House of Commons, and retire to the Lords when their ambition is satisfied, and their motives of exertion abated. The Law Lords have their

arena elsewhere; and the Peers by birth, who form themselves in the House of Lords, are always obliged to play an inferior part to their contemporaries in the Commons, and are deprived of the great stimulus of personal rivalry, as well as of the public observation. Few questions of importance are to be decided in the Lords; and when they are disposed of by that body, it is always by the direct influence of particular members of administration, and therefore the public feels very little interest about them.

The essentials of oratory in the House of Lords, are elevation of style and dignity of manner. The levity and humour occasionally permitted in the House of Commons, can never be indulged in, here, without a breach of decorum. The persons addressed are the hereditary Counsellors of the Crown, and the great Ministers of Religion,—supposed to be all seniors, invested with important public trusts, accustomed to the presence of Majesty,—who sit to control the measures of the popular assembly, and temper the warmth and impetuosity, which may be expected from the acts of

that body. The Speaker is himself invested with a station which demands the highest self-respect: being elevated above the other classes of society, he is watched with jealousy, and expected to possess a dignity of character and deportment, which may justify his inferiors in the respect he claims.

All these considerations acting upon his mind, induce a gravity and seriousness of matter and manner, as different from that of a member of the House of Commons, as the style of a counsel addressing the twelve Judges, from that which he adopts to convince a jury. But there is danger, that in attempting to be grave and dignified, an orator may become formal and self-important; his manner may be pompous, his delivery monotonous, and every thing about him more like the solemnity of the owl, than the gravity of the eagle.

To correct this tendency, his labours should be directed to acquire a style of argument which imposes rather upon the understanding, and carries the hearer with it, than that which provides against cavil and refutation:—no statement of objection and reply; no argumentum ad hominem; no fo-

rensic artifice;—a style which may be conceived from the following lines of the poet:—

> Though deep yet clear, though tranquil yet not dull,
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.

A young nobleman rising to plead the cause of the Catholics of Ireland generally, may introduce such pasages as this:—

"If every scheme repugnant to the feelings and experience of mankind has been tried, and is allowed by its supporters to have failed;—if that course which naturally suggests itself, upon a contemplation of the character which God has given to us all, has never yet been tried;—if cruelty, injustice, and tyrannical dominion are mingled with the plans that failed,—humanity, and every Christian feeling, with that which promises success,—do we not act against our reason, and our religion, in refusing to give one trial to so gracious an experiment?

"We observe the popularity of the King in Ire-

land. How noble an instrument would he be for the regeneration of this interesting people!—Were he to carry with him the gospel of peace and true conciliation when he next visits the devoted island, his name would pass from mouth to mouth, and be pronounced with adoration by the remote posterity of the present race of Catholics, like that of him who was believed in fabulous times to have called mankind from the caverns in the forest, and taught them the arts of humanity and civilisation. The heart of every peasant in the island would expand with gratitude, and he would be greeted with those looks and marks of attachment, which can only be adequately described in the words of our immortal poet:—

> "The people's prayer, the glad diviner's theme,
> The young man's vision, and the old man's dream—
> Thee! Saviour! thee—the native's vows confess,
> And, never satisfied with seeing, bless:—
> Swift unbespoken pomps thy steps proclaim,
> And stamm'ring babes are taught to lisp thy name."

CHAP. XI.

SPEAKING IN COUNCIL BEFORE THE KING.

In speaking before the King, there is no place for ornament, nor for a superfluous word. The argument should be founded upon unquestionable documents, framed with the closeness and connexion of a theorem, and propounded in grave and simple sentences in the style of propositions. It is not to be supposed that the Crown has a moment to bestow upon the eloquence of its subjects.

CHAP. XII.

ON SPEAKING EXTEMPORE.

WHEN young members of parliament consult their friends upon the best mode of forming the habit of speaking extempore, they are frequently advised—to walk along the sea-shore, and make speeches to the winds and waves: — or, to speak aloud in a noisy crowd of foreigners who do not know the language: — or, to collect their younger college friends around them, to talk and laugh while they pursue an argument—or to write out the best printed speeches, and repeat them afterwards from memory: — or, to listen to read-out arguments, and reply to the reader—or, to use a sustained discourse on every subject, and to learn to converse in neat well-balanced sentences.

These methods may form a fluent and graceful speaker at a turnpike-trust meeting, but will never make a parliamentary orator.

He who feels ambitious of that title, must not believe that words are his materials: ideas, images, and feelings are his proper game: — if he has only "thoughts that breathe," his words will never burn; for it is the burning thoughts that light the eye, and fire the tongue.

Those whose duties have led them to witness conferences between the Canadian Indians, and Commissioners of government, have been struck with surprise at the superiority of the savage in all those qualities which distinguish eloquence from discourse. It is not that he excelled in natural powers, but he came to the discussion with a mind heated by reflecting on the causes of the interview.--His dwelling invaded, his hunting-land withdrawn from his free range, his tribe forced back upon the wilderness, and the bones of his fathers disturbed by strangers.—His bosom glowed with passion, and he used the words and looks and gestures of the emotions that he felt, as instinctively as he would groan for pain, or shout for joy. But the Commissioner had prepared himself by studying his instructions, and his only object in the

selection of words, was to avoid ambiguity, and convey precise ideas.

Of all the orators we know, there is but one who has escaped the benumbing effect of the formalities of modern routine, and who combines the raciness of untutored eloquence, with the methodical arrangement and varied stores supplied by education and research. Though living amongst mere officials, his phrases sparkle like the dew-drops, and his images are fresh as early verdure: in discursive eloquence, he bounds along the course like a young steed just broken from the stall.

Let the young aspirant consider how Mr. Canning learned to employ imagery, in his extemporaneous bursts of eloquence.

Some twenty years ago, he took a ride amongst the mountains of Westmoreland, at a time when nature was displaying one of those singular effects, which are only to be seen in such a country. The valley to its extremity was filled with a white mass of thickened vapour, which seemed gradually expanding, to involve the nearest hills, and only a

few distant peaks were clear and well-defined. A broad glare of light fell upon some paltry objects in the fore-ground, which acquired additional deformity from their illumination, like the wrinkles in a face by Rembrandt.

Mr. Canning stopped his horse at once, and said inwardly, "Here is a precise image of the present state of Europe—the noble features of the landscape, the rocks, and woods, and streams, and ancient buildings wrapped in murky fog, which even these hills cannot resist, and a few sordid huts alone are decked in sun-shine." While he communed thus with his own mind, a blast came through an opening of the mountains, and the mist began to rise: a bright gleam fell upon some distant buildings, and the fore-ground became obscured with a black shadow.

"Here," said he with animation, "we behold the towers and battlements of ancient institutions emerging from the mist that has so long involved them;"—and thus, in dwelling with delight upon the anticipation of that result which the subsequent victory at Vittoria realised, he treasured

up the image, and the very words, with which he entranced the House, when he rose to give his vote of thanks to the hero who had conquered.

So with extemporaneous wit:—the same great statesman very lately walked alone from his villa at Brompton across Kew-green to Richmond, and, while passing some sawyers working near the road, he heard one man say to another, "Tom, here's a cheese-cake for you." "No," said he, "I never eats cheese-cakes." "Why so?" "Because my inside a'nt clever."

Such was the dialogue of the sawyers, which the Statesman soon appropriated;—and the next time Mr. Robertson labours to overthrow the system of free trade, he will probably receive, extempore, the following reply:—

"Sir, I never was able to perceive a resemblance between free trade and cheese-cakes, until I heard a dialogue a few days since, between two sawyers; one of whom told the other, he could never digest a cheese-cake, because his inside wasn't clever:—now this is the precise reason why

the honorable gentleman cannot digest my honorable friend's resolutions in favour of free trade. It therefore appears, that free trade and cheesecakes have one quality in common, that they can only be digested by those whose insides are clever."

From Mr. Canning's method of learning to speak extempore, it may be well to turn to that of the late Dr. Parr.

He formed the habit of analyzing words, so that he could tell the exact number of separate ideas which were conveyed by one term, and thus his precision became so great, that in bestowing an epithet he never failed to abstract from the compound idea, those simple notions which were not directly applicable to the object. In a moment of irritation with one of his military acquaintances, he said, "Sir, my opinion of you is this — that you're a spendthrift, without generosity; a debauched profligate, without warm feelings; and a liar, without the merit of ingenuity. The courage you have shown in battle, was that of the bravo, not the cavalier."

This invective was calculated to amuse the object of it, who took pleasure in repeating it to all his friends. But a man of talents, who had disdained the analysis of words, would have said in anger, that which would have withered his opponent like the blast of the desert, and which would excite regret in his own mind when his passion ceased.

On questions of grave argument, the mode of learning to speak extempore, is essentially different.

It is here necessary to acquire a habit of dividing subjects into their several great branches, — forming connected sets of propositions with their various illustrations and proofs appended to them, ready to be brought to bear upon an opponent's argument, and above all,—of placing distinctly before the understanding the whole train of reasoning, in its logical form.

In reading over Mr. Jacob's Report on Polish agriculture, a young member should first resolve the question, whether the writer was an impartial observer;—next, whether he was qualified to draw

conclusions from the facts before him; — next, whether facts may not be produced from other sources, to overthrow his reasoning;—and afterwards, whether he does not himself supply materials to defeat his inferences.

Many other views would suggest themselves; but it is only here designed to point out a method of studying such documents.

On the first point, it is not difficult to decide that Mr. Jacob felt a desire to prove one side of the question rather than the other, by his taking the trouble to show how few days' consumption for all England the whole surplus of Polish corn would supply:—this was foreign to his business, and was suggested by the inclination to give effect to that opinion which he favoured.

On the second branch, a hasty perusal will be sufficient to show that, supposing the desire of impartiality to the two great interests concerned in the discussion, there was a want of the power of combination, though not of agricultural knowledge. The land bears an excessive ratio to the population; and there is no obstacle to subdivision. The

proprietors who reside at home are enlightened, and earnest to improve their estates; ten successive years of open markets had raised the export from 256 to 484, and the continuance of five other years had raised it to 595.—Advances of capital are secured by the whole power of the state. The increase of wheat between 1651 and and 1805, was from 81 to 595. The flocks have prospered beyond belief. All classes of the people have an interest in the increase of produce, and the public revenue essentially depends upon it.

From all these premises it is concluded, that the soil progressively loses its fertility; and that no considerable addition can be made to the quantity it gave in the last years of open ports.

With respect to the third division, the object will be, to reflect and read upon the state of other countries statistically situated like Poland. The plains of Beauce have been producing wheat for a thousand years by the system of fallow which prevails in Poland, yet still maintain fertility; for it is the well-known quality of every soil to return, after a period of rest, to its original nature. The

rest of the seventh year was considered capable of renewing the soil of the Holy Land, by the Jewish legislator. Open markets will give rise to subdivision in Poland, as in Ireland; increase of people will augment the stock of cattle and manure: a quick demand, and rapid rise of price will cause great investments of foreign capital in the soil, and this capital will introduce the improved, but more expensive system of modern husbandry. Thus the demand of 1800, caused the commons here to be inclosed; increased our peasantry, the cattle, and manures; and established the rotation system, by means of capital, all over the island.

Fourthly, various statements in the Report defeat its general reasoning.—There is no rent, nor payment of wages, scarcely any money-tax, (for the government accepts the corn,) and tithe is paid by land: the roads and bridges are repaired by a corvée: then there can be no cost-price of wheat; and all the laboured calculations to discover it, are nugatory. The wheat produced in Poland is the clear surplus, which forms rent; and whether it

sells for ten or twenty shillings, so it sell, the gain is absolute; expense of transit after sale, is of course not here considered.—Now, all these facts are given; yet the conclusion is, that a price of 60*s.* and a duty of 10*s.* or 12*s.* would not encourage Polish agriculture. Again,—the increase of corn is stated to be nearly confined between the limits of 3 or 4 to 1; yet one nobleman expressed his hopes, that by pursuing an improved system, his estate would yield 6 to 1; and this improved system is open to all.

These tedious passages are merely to give an idea of the mode of investigating a complicated subject, for the purpose of extempore discussion. The foregoing facts and inferences, with all the others, which every reader of the Report would provide for himself, should be carefully stored in the exact order in which they were originally arranged; and the speaker will find no more difficulty in delivering them extempore, than in proving a theorem which he clearly understands.

The aspiring member of the House of Commons must devote his soul and faculties as entirely to

his object, as the Christian is required to do in the words of the great Author of our Faith. He must consider all he sees, and hears, and reads, and thinks, in reference to the great reward, which awaits him at the goal; he must look widely amongst men and books, the arts and sciences, and the face of nature, and be enabled by habit and study to bring the most apposite of his varied materials to bear directly upon his immediate object.

Mr. Jacob's Report is to be studied for a preparation on the Corn question, to which it expressly refers; but in reading it, and every document, an intelligent mind will find materials for discussion on other public subjects. The state of Poland is very similar to that of Ireland, whose anomalous condition is almost a miracle, like that of the Jews. Can any information be derived from the Report, on this perplexing question?

Let the problem be to discover why the Polish peasants should be good subjects, and the Irish a set of Whiteboys, considering that the state of society in both countries is nearly the same.

In what points do the countries resemble each other, and in what do they differ?

There are only two classes, the lord and the vassal in Poland;—neither is there virtually in Ireland.

There are no manufactures, to cause division between the producer and consumer, in Poland;—neither are there in the greater part of Ireland.

The peasantry have of necessity much unemployed time, from the nature of their occupation in Poland;—so they have in Ireland.

They are strongly addicted to drunkenness, which they have means to gratify in Poland,—and also in Ireland.

The lower classes subsist upon the worst food, live in the worst dwellings, and wear the worst clothing fit for human creatures;—so they do in Ireland.

The best produce of the soil is exported from Poland, and the worst retained for consumption;—so it is in Ireland.

The Polish peasantry have been politically de-

graded, insulted, and despoiled of their right;—so have the Irish.

The Poles have rebelled against their masters, and have suffered all the consequences of unsuccessful insurrection;—so have the Irish.

The Polish ministers of religion acknowledge a foreign ecclesiastical authority;—so do the Irish.

Notwithstanding this equality of condition, the Poles are tranquil, and the Irish turbulent. Therefore, according to the rules of philosophizing, not one of the foregoing circumstances ought to be assigned as a reason of the turbulence. But as it is an unnatural disposition, it must have a disturbing cause.

What are now the points in which the two countries essentially differ?

Poland has an arbitrary government in its forms, and a mild administration.

Ireland has a free government, and a mild administration.

Poland has a soil so divided, that every family is allotted more than it can labour well.

Ireland has a people so distributed, that scarcely

any of the poorest families can get land enough to raise their common food.

Poland has one clergy in union with the government, and interested in the maintenance of public tranquillity. Ireland has two clergies; one hostile to the government, and the other suspected of hostility to the people; one using popular tumult as a sword, and the other resorting to vindictive legislation as a shield.

The Polish peasants have no demands on them for rent, or tithe, or tax in money which they cannot procure.—The Irish peasantry have such demands.

The Polish peasant is legally controlled by direct interference in his domestic affairs.—The Irish is controlled, directly, only by the laws; and being a free agent de jure, he is, de facto, a slave.

The Polish peasant is rewarded for his dependance as a client, by the protection of his patron: —the Irish is punished for his legal power of free action, by abandonment to his own resources.

The Polish proprietor builds and repairs houses,

and can therefore regulate the population of his estate. The Irish proprietor in general does not build or repair, and custom does not allow him to prevent building by his peasants.

The Polish peasants are maintained in brutal ignorance:—the Irish are given various means of acquiring knowledge.

By this mode of fixing in the mind the arranged resemblances and dissimilarities of the two countries, as they occur in reading Mr. Jacob's Report, the young politician will be enabled to speak extempore upon the state of Ireland, in years subsequently: for his mind will always retain the connected series of ideas and propositions, though it would lose all trace of what he had read in an immethodical manner.

The Report states, that the emancipation of the Polish peasantry by an act of the government was at first viewed by them with distrust and suspicion, and that it appeared a measure intended to exempt the lords from the burthen of their maintenance in age and sickness, rather than a boon bestowed upon themselves.—This fact supplies

materials for an extempore speech upon the great Slave question, to him who shall have laid up in his mental treasury the points of resemblance between serfs and slaves, — the prospect of the same delusion occurring to the negroes if emancipated, and abandoned to their own resources, and various other considerations which would occur, in pursuing this train of thought.

From all that has been said in this chapter, it follows, that extempore speaking is produced by a habit of arranging thoughts, not words.

The man of sentences is a cipher in an assembly like the House of Commons, though he may deliver his petty wares with all the ease and elegance of those whose business it is to amuse a pretty woman in the absence of her lover.

The man of ideas will command respect and attention; and at his approach, the man of sentences will retire, as one of the personages alluded to is obliged to do when the lover appears.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON PETITIONS TO THE LEGISLATURE.

In these times of general information, every one who reads a newspaper, thinks himself authorised to collect half a dozen of his associates in some hole or corner, to sign their names to an instruction to the Lords and Commons, which custom calls a petition, although it abounds very often with threats as well as prayers. This habit of petitioning has grown into a public nuisance, and tends more to perplex, thwart, and disgust enlightened men of business, than any of the many vexations which beset them during the Session.—Tailors, who never made a coat for any but a landed proprietor, implore the Houses to repeal the corn-laws. The servants and dependants of West-India families pray for the equalization of duties on sugar. Persons living upon the charity of placemen and pensioners, send up a petition

against ministerial patronage. Fortified with bundles of these nonsensical documents, grave well-intentioned members pretend to dictate, because the King's Ministers cannot decorously appear to slight the opinions of the people.

It were much to be desired, that a privilege which the progress of education and intelligence has converted into a real impediment to business, should be confined in its exercise—that societies and individuals should petition their respective representatives, and that publicity should be given to their sentiments, by the Gazette.

But, as this change is not likely to be effected in our times, it is the business of men of influence to give a tone to the petitions of their constituents, and to prepare at public meetings the documents to be transmitted to the House. Young members would meet little opposition in this course, and good petitions presented by themselves, and known to be suggested by them to those they represent, would bring them forward to the public view.

When a petition on a general subject is to be drawn up, by a young member, for a public meet-

ing, he should endeavour to advocate the measure prayed for, by arguments which have been little, or at all employed by other petitioning bodies. But in seeking novelty, he must carefully avoid paradox, and far-fetched views.—A lecturer, or didactic writer, will sometimes bring himself into notice, by stating his belief in wild absurdities, as Des Cartes established his fame in perpetuity, by the extravagance of his errors: but he who aspires to be a statesman, will never obtain confidence, if a single act of visionary folly can be proved against him. Such is the case with a certain party in the House of Commons, who possess, or have possessed both eloquence and ability, and who are as much respected by the public at large, as any body of individuals known to the nation.

These men, however, are quite incapable of holding office; for the people, who respect them as a chorus to the drama, would laugh if they assumed the leading characters.

A newly-elected county member may be called on to take the lead at a meeting, to petition against the repeal of the Corn-laws; and it is his business

to methodize the subject carefully in his mind, and to determine what particular view of these laws should be taken in the petition. They may be considered with reference to the fundamental laws of the country, its finance, or its domestic economy—as they affect the proprietors, the farmers, the agricultural labourers, and all those who live by dealing with these classes—or, as they influence the foreign trade, navigation, and external relations of the empire. They are intimately connected with the prosperity and tranquillity of Ireland—with the maintenance of the established church, and the interests of all the liberal arts.

And not only do they exert an all-pervading influence upon the varied transactions of society now, but their repeal may be considered to affect the private and public fortunes of unborn generations, and to prepare for futurity a great increase of welfare or adversity,—of welfare, if the civilized world can be so modelled by enlightened statesmen as to maintain a peaceful interchange of the natural products of its various regions, from age to age,—of adversity in its worst forms, if war and political

conflicts shall disturb the relations of free traders, after great masses of the population shall have been long dependent upon foreign agriculture:—

The view which relates to the laws and constitution of the country, may be embodied in a petition to the House of Lords in this manner:—

"To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c. &c.

"The petition of the gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of A——, most humbly showeth:—

"That the most important changes in the constitution of this country will be effected by the establishment of a free trade in corn.

"The influence and authority possessed now by the nobility as a body depend upon the popular belief, that its members are superior to the other classes in birth, intelligence, and wealth,—advantages which in all ages and nations have commanded the respect of the people.

"But the illusion of birth is already weakened by the various revolutions of modern times; intelligence, like the art of writing, will cease to be a

distinction when all men are educated; and if your Lordships consent to give away a great portion of that species of wealth, which it is alone competent to a dignified order to enjoy,—your lordships will lose the only distinction likely to withstand the changes now occurring in the system of society. The nobles, then, as individuals, will cease to meet a superior degree of respect from the people, and your Lordships' House, deprived of popular support, and thence unable to control the proceedings of the Commons, will become the remnant of a former estate, like the Roman Senate in the reigns of the Emperors. Hence must result a long contention between the Crown and the people, the sword and public opinion; and the mixed monarchy which Englishmen consider the most perfect government, will be lost by a silent revolution, effected by a transfer of property."

This view of the subject will not appear far-fetched, or visionary, to those who reflect upon the great political changes of ancient and modern times. It will be found that those revolutions

which have proved permanent and irreversible, had been preceded by a gradual change in the distribution of wealth, from causes recognised by the laws and public opinion; and in those instances where the original government has been restored after an interval, the property and power had remained together, until both were torn from their possessors by force.

In preparing a petition for the House of Commons, a young member may take the opportunity to reply to arguments used in a leading speech upon an important subject, which he could not properly answer in the House even if he were capable of doing so: and in presenting it, he may still further confute an opponent, by a few condensed sentences directed against the substance of his argument.

Thus, a petition to the Commons against a repeal of the Corn laws, to be presented in the session of 1827, may be drawn up in this manner, and presented with the short speech inserted below.

"To the Right Honorable and Honorable the Commons, &c. &c. &c. in Parliament, &c. &c.

"The humble Petition of the Land-owners, &c. of the Parish of ——, &c.

"Most humbly showeth:—

"That various petitions for a repeal of the Corn-laws have been presented to your Honorable House, by bodies of persons ignorant of the subject, who have been instructed by speeches, conceived not in the spirit of patient investigation, but of artful and ingenious advocacy. And that many classes of men engaged in trade and manufactures have been thereby induced to pray for a measure injurious to themselves and to the public at large.

"In the first place, it has been represented to the aforesaid petitioners, that this country flourished under a virtual free trade in corn, from 1771 to 1815, during which time the ports were open, at a trifling duty—and it is thence inferred, that the alarm of the landed interest at the prospect of a repeal of the restrictive laws on importation is unfounded.

"But these petitioners for repeal have not been told, that in the first thirty years of this period the waste lands had not been enclosed, nor the products of the soil multiplied by the improved system of modern husbandry: the scale of general price had not been raised by the long operation of paper currency, nor were the contracts between man and man founded upon such increased scale. The rural population had not grown beyond the long-established demands of agriculture with open ports; nor was a great amount of taxes levied in money from the people. In the last fourteen years of the period, it is notorious, that the ports were only nominally open; for the effects of war, in collecting food for great armies, desolating the corn districts, laying arbitrary embargoes on shipping, and enhancing freights, had precluded the possibilty of competition between the foreign and home growers of corn.

"Secondly, it has been represented to the aforesaid petitioners for repeal, that their dealings with the agriculturists would not be much reduced by the distress of the latter, consequent upon free

trade, because the soil of foreign countries is not capable of affording any supply great enough to affect the home market.

"But these petitioners have not been told, that, although a dearth prevailed in France during two years, 1816 and 1817, which caused a bounty to be paid on importation there, nevertheless we received from foreign countries no less than 2,616,859 quarters of wheat, in the same 1817 and the following year. If these petitioners were asked to judge the consequence of such an importation in common years, added to the quantity supplied to France in her distress, and also to that which she would supply to us in her abundance,—the most ignorant of them would perceive that British agriculture must sink, if exposed to such a competition—and, if agriculture, the inland trade between the two great classes of the people.

"Thirdly, it has been represented to the aforesaid petitioners for repeal, that the regular price of wheat imported in a state of free trade would not be less, in common years, than forty-four shillings to forty-eight shillings per quarter, which,

added to a duty of ten or twelve shillings, would be sufficient to support existing contracts:—but these petitioners for repeal have not been told, that this estimated price is formed by a long calculation of averages, and assumptions of facts according to the theory of political economy,—a mode which is adopted solely for the purpose of deception; for it is evident that a few years of very low prices will complete a bankruptcy, and a period of subsequent high prices, arising from reaction, can afford no relief to those who have been ruined by the low ones. If the price of wheat be 30*s*. 32*s*. 34*s*. 29*s*. and 30*s*. for five successive years, and 50*s*. 60*s*. 65*s*. 68*s*. and 80*s*. in five years to follow, the average of the ten will be 47*s*. 9*d*. But surely this apparently fair price would never be accessible to those who cultivated, to their own ruin, for prices of 30*s*. and 32*s*. and were bankrupts, ousted of their farms, when the prices rose.

"Fourthly, it has been represented to these petitioners for repeal, that the exclusion of foreign corn has led to the abandonment of tillage in the

corn countries of Europe, which threatens Great Britain with a famine upon the first failure of her crop:—but these petitioners for repeal have not been told, that from the enclosure of the commons to the real opening of the ports at the end of the war, we heard nothing of dearth: after foreign corn became easily attainable, and the home growth discouraged, (in 1814,) a scarcity was prepared, by the abandonment of the poorer lands, which broke out in 1816 and 1817, to the serious misery and distress of the poor: and since the enactment of the late corn act, which improved the hopes of agriculture, speculation upon a rise of price has been abandoned, because the dealers see no prospect of a failure in the supply.

"Further, these petitioners have not been told, that if the use of home-grown corn for several years has effected the ruin of those foreign districts which used to supply our markets,—the use of foreign corn for a period, must effect the same ruin in our own fields.

"Fifthly, it has been represented to the petitioners for repeal, that the agriculturists mistake

their true interests, in advocating a system which occasions fluctuation of prices, and rejecting that which would lead to steadiness and uniformity: but these petitioners for repeal have not been told, that the same speculating spirit which accumulated tallow from the remote parts of Russia, in 1823, (first raising the price to £54 per ton, and then depressing it to £32,) and which collected cotton in 1825, (in the same manner causing the price to rise and fall beyond all due limit,) would without doubt display itself in a free corn market, upon the idea of a short crop; that the price would be first raised by inordinate desire to monopolize the stock, and afterwards depressed far below the cost of production, ruining together the traders and the growers, and causing an artificial reduction in the price of bread for a season, which would make the succeeding rise more oppressive to the people at large.

"Sixthly, it has been represented to these petitioners for repeal, that we are in danger of being undersold by foreign manufacturers, because they consume cheaper bread, and receive lower wages:

but these petitioners for repeal have not been told, that in every age, the richer labourer who received high wages, has supplied the poorer with manufactures, and that at the present day the price of food in every country is nearly in the direct ratio of its manufacturing and commercial greatness. Bread is cheaper in France and Saxony, than in England; in Austria and Bavaria, than in France and Saxony; in Poland and Ireland, than in Austria and Bavaria; in the Ukraine and interior of Russia, than in Ireland and Poland; and in Mexico, (where the banana grows almost spontaneously,) than in the Ukraine. Spain and Portugal are exceptions, because the exclusive possession of the mines of gold and silver have raised prices to a point, from which they are now fast receding.

"Your petitioners humbly pray, that your Honorable House will appoint a committee of agriculturists, to digest a report for general circulation, and to collect the actual prices of corn in the respective years; — and that your Honorable House will reject all arguments founded upon general averages, which, more than any assignable

cause, produce error and confusion in measures that affect the interests of men in their mutual dealings."

In presenting this petition, or one in some degree resembling it, a young member may take the opportunity to observe, that "if any subject had ever been presented under a delusive aspect, to the classes of persons most interested in the discussion, this one of the corn-laws had been. The public were taught to dispose of the question by a very simple process of reasoning: 'cheaper food gives cheaper labour, cheaper labour cheaper goods, and cheaper goods the command of the market.' Thus the proprietors of land were held up as a small body of powerful monopolists, opposing a self-evident truth for their own selfish objects, to the ruin of all other classes:—no attention to the state of existing contracts—to the capital sunk in agriculture, for the future support of labour—to the mortgage upon the land for so many hundred millions of debt—to the incapacity of the rural population for all the mechanic arts—to the long preparation required by our system of husbandry, for pro-

ducing corn—to the pauperism, and dependence upon Great Britain, of four millions of cultivators in Ireland—as well as to the multitude of serious considerations inseparably connected with this subject. The whole of the great question is to be disposed of by a mode as simple as that suggested by Mr. Owen, who resolved all difficulties by the properties of the parallelogram.

"I confess, Sir, that in approaching this subject, I am more than ever impressed with the pregnant meaning of the scriptural phrase, 'the letting-out of the waters;' and I know nothing to which the repeal of these laws can be so aptly compared, as the destruction of the banks of a great lake, by an ignorant people. The levels taken by the eye—the limit of the inundation marked by guess-work—the first movement of the water hailed with shouts of triumph by the people, who conceive it beneficial to them, until their flocks and herds and houses are involved in the current, and nothing remains to be beheld from the tops of their mountains, but one unvaried, endless waste of stagnant, putrefying water."

In the use of this figurative language, the young speaker will not violate the rule of a foregoing chapter, because it is his precise purpose to give an indistinct idea of the danger of tampering with these laws: he does not use the image for ornament, nor amplify it by a superfluous word; his argument is the leading object, and the image is employed only to enforce it.

But if an opponent had used this very image of the letting-out of waters in argument against him—he should adroitly change it, into the draining of "a putrid marsh, which timid ignorance had allowed to produce pestilence for ages, lest an attempt to convey its waters to the ocean should overflow the land." And if his adversary had acted the same part to him, and changed his lake into a putrid marsh, it would be his business to assert the proper application of his image, by showing that, by their own admissions, the advocates of the repeal were only guessing at its results.

CHAPTER XIV.

ON MEMORIALS.

Memorial of A. B. to the Right Honorable the President of the Board of Trade.

"YOUR Memorialist respectfully directs your attention to the extraordinary accumulation of capital in Great Britain, from the peace of Utrecht to that of Paris in 1815, notwithstanding the numerous foreign subsidies and loans, the sums expended upon our distant possessions, and the waste of treasure in various wars.

"He also respectfully requests you to keep in mind, that while the amount of capital was thus increasing, every portion of it was also acquiring an additional productive power by successive improvements in every kind of machinery.

"For many years before the peace of 1815, the demand for capital had so far exceeded the annual

increase, as to encourage habits of frugality and acquisition against the trading classes, and to cause a regular extension of the stock and plant of every manufacture; and even after the great demands of war had ceased, those habits of acquisition still remained: so that within the last ten years, the ships, buildings, machinery, and fixed property of the nation, has increased considerably.

"After the long stagnation and distress which attended the change from war to peace, a sudden stimulus was given to every kind of active industry, by the concurrence of many favourable events, at the point of time when the markets became cleared of the glut of produce which had for some years oppressed them. But although a considerable amount of taxes was repealed for the purpose of increasing consumption at home, and extensive combinations operated to restrain and limit production, and the whole of Spanish America was open to our trade,—yet the short period of eighteen months proved sufficient to glut the markets for our goods all over the world, and to cause exten-

sive ruin and misery, from the want of a demand for further labour.

"It is, therefore, an indisputable fact, that the power to produce increases much more rapidly in Great Britain, than the power to consume, all over the world.

"Your Memorialist respectfully submits, that so long as the productive power of the country increases thus more rapidly than the power of consuming her wares, each period of prosperous trade must be succeeded by stagnation and distress; and that it is the first duty of the government to equalize the two great elements of prosperity, by opening a new and capacious channel for the superabundant capital and labour.

"Your Memorialist confidently believes that such new channel may be opened by founding a colony upon a great scale in North America. But a colony, to be successful, must be great. It is like one of those machines, whose volume is its principal mean: and it can no more succeed in little, than the model of a ship can cross the sea.

"The colony Great Britain requires, should be

led by a prince, conducted by a fleet, defended by an army, and supported till its period of adolescence, by the national treasury.

"Your Memorialist wishes most earnestly to impress upon your mind, that Great Britain does require such a colony. She requires it,—as an investment for the accumulating capital, which is now working to the destruction of established trades, by unlimited competition, — as a source of hope and happiness to the multitudes who stand hesitating between despair and crime, —as an open asylum for the numerous families successively bereft of property by the changes in our artificial systems,—as an honorable career for the younger branches of established houses, whose second generation will soon be left without resource, — as a new estate, whose cultivation may hereafter afford means for the diminution of our debt, — as a future support in the new world, which seems about to separate itself from every old connexion :— she requires it, for the preservation of all that is valuable at home ;—for no free nation can retain its laws and institutions, after the higher ranks be-

come profligate by inaction, and the lower debased by mendicancy.—Great Britain has ampler means of founding such a colony, than were ever possessed by a nation;—a surplus annual treasure, a surplus territory, and a surplus people. She only asks for energy in the government, to apply those means to a great and noble object."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

POLITICAL SQUIBS.

No. 1.

A POLITICIAN may employ invective seriously for the interest of his country, as a moral poet may lash the vices of his age for their correction; but he may never excite hatred against the character of an opponent, for his own exclusive objects. He may deride folly, expose false pretension, or lessen influence with the public by playful and legitimate ridicule; but a virulent attack will always do more injury to the assailant than the assailed.

Who can read the desperate satires of Pope, without taking part with the victim against his enemy?

"Beauty that shocks you," &c.

The atrocity of the line makes good men shun

any participation of sentiment with the author of it.

" But on some lucky day, as when they found,
A lost bank bill, or heard their son was drown'd."

The terrible idea of parents feasting for joy at their son's death, and forgetting their natural avarice on the happy occasion, affrights the reader, and divests him of the temper for enjoying a sally even against him he hates.

" With all the symptoms of assured decay,
With age and sickness pinch'd and worn away."

These lines of Churchill, which every one feels may some day be as truly applied to himself, as to the object of attack, unless he escape by a premature death, excite a painful sentiment, which unfits him for serving the purpose of the satirist.

An opponent may be laughed at and bantered for being long or short, fat or lean, having a red nose, the effect of conviviality, or for any personal peculiarity not associated with misfortune; or for affectation, silliness, stinginess, vanity, story-telling, or any of those defects of character which

are subjects of mirth even to his own friends. As, for instance:—

A. will give his very soul
To gain a voter for the poll;
But body—he can spare you none,
The little man 's but five feet one.

Here's the hero of the yellow—
What a very heavy fellow!
Though he 's like a buttress-wall
Yet he has no weight at all.—

True—my friend 's a buttress-wall,
And gives support while others take it—
What he props will never fall,
Though cabal and faction shake it:—
Speak with him, his frame you 'll find
The emblem of a giant mind,
Just as your hero's middle stature
Suits his very middling nature.—

See—young A. approaches us,
Graceful as Antinoüs;
Every quality 's in him
Well proportion'd as his limb:—
When he moves, he seems to fly
Like a feather'd Mercury;
And his acts, however view'd,
Suit his noble attitude.

True—he 's like the god of thieving,
If reports are worth believing;
And his feathery head, 'tis meet,
Should be borne by feather'd feet:-
Yet tho' light, the cause will fall
That bears his burthen—as the wall,
Which neither time nor tempest fears,
Is crush'd beneath the flag it bears.

Or thus:—

A.'s frame and his great qualities agree,
B.'s middle size and mediocrity.—

The poll of to-day is a fishing-pole, brother,
With a fool at one end, and a grub at the other.
A. serves you, 'tis true, with his bluster and vapour,
His prate of a parrot and brains of a goose;
Like an old printed leaf of the pastry-cook's paper,
He 's worthless and vapid, but still of some use.

A.'s ten thousand friends all despise him
Yet love him, they cannot tell why;
Every one of B.'s visitors shies him,
Though none can his merit deny.

Quid's garden 's fill'd with hyacinths and roses,
And every fragrant flower that e'er hath blown:
What he has gain'd by tickling others' noses,
He spends in titillation of his own.

To church or chapel A. goes never,
Yet talks religiously for ever;
The reason?—why, 'tis very clear,
He loves to speak and hates to hear.

A. dined but once this month, as he's a sinner,
Yet all his friends have given him a dinner.

A.'s purse is never from his sight a minute;
He's right,—for all the worth he has, is in it.

Blanche lived in the great frost?—her date 's before—
Let's have it.
The reign of Anne or William?—no, Shem, Ham,
and Japhet.

Or if she be a foreigner, thus:—

When and whence came Blanche?—from Spain,
In Lord Peterborough's train?—
No—she visited our nation,
At King Charles's Restoration:
Still I find I 'm in the dark,
She escaped from Noah's ark.

Who gold or counsel want, to A. repair;
He lectures poor and old, and gives to frail and fair.

A. freely gives, and kindly feels, we 're told,
He gives to frail and fair, and feels for poor and old.

If hundreds of the wandering poor
Go empty from Avidien's door,
The fault 's not his—'tis in the Crown,
For melting all the farthings down:
When odd ones come to him astray,
He locks them up to give away;
Only refusing them to the many,
Because he waits for a poorer than any.

Or thus:—

A. 'd give a farthing to a starving brother,
But that a poorer may demand another.

A. boasts his pedigree 's so old,
No genealogist can scan it;
B.'s noble ancestry 's soon told—
His gallant grandfather began it.
We want no record of the two,
To tell the oldest stock—The reason?
When seeds degenerate, we know
That they 've been sown for many a season.

Or thus:—

A. comes of an old stock, 'tis quickly known
Seeds don't degenerate, till they've oft been sown,

No. 2.

In all our political contests, the religion of different parties comes in for a share of the hostility of their opponents; and it is singular, that those who profess the greatest respect for the subject, are the persons who drag it into every controversy which arises from worldly interests, and ambition. It would be a proof of the worst taste, to taunt a Catholic with the day of St. Bartholomew, a Protestant with the Titus-Oatean murders, or a Presbyterian with the assassination of Archbishop Sharpe: but something playful, like the following, may be permitted without offence.

Old Jobson wants no ordination,
To preach the tidings of salvation;
He only practises his trade,
Cobbling what the Church had made.

I cannot find a word or letter
About the wife of Paul or Peter,

Or children of the Saints of yore:
Each parson now has half a score,
And thinks he leads a holy life,
Nursing his babes, and kissing his wife.

The people and their priest lead social lives,
They share his babies, and he shares their wives.

No. 3.

Rich citizens, who only know the taste of venison through the excellent shop in Cornhill, have sometimes the presumption to go down to the country, and oppose some ancient family whose park was stocked in the days of William Rufus.—These citizens are generally good-humoured fellows; for nothing makes one so ready for a laugh on all occasions, as the habit of rising in the world. The farmer is always in a merry mood, heaping up his dung-hill—and the old proprietor cross, when masons are patching the family mansion.

The laughing citizen may express his self-satisfaction thus:—

Happy the man whose wish and care
Some fifty thousand Consols bound—
Content to breathe the city air,
All the year round.

The butcher meat, the baker bread,
The tailor serves him with attire;
His cool verandah yields him shade,
The coal-yard fire.—
Busy by day, at night he sees
Masque, play, and ball, sweet occupation;
And meets the fair, which most doth please,
By assignation.
Thus let me live—so seen, so known:—
All 'Change shall sorrow when I die;
And every broker in the town
Know where I lie.

This is a better life, than that of the plougher of his few paternal acres, living unknown and dying unlamented.

No. 4.

All men are open to ridicule upon the levities of the females connected with them:—

The earth is kiss'd by the dew that falls,*
The shore is kiss'd by the sea;
The sun-beam kisses the turreted walls,
And Kitty is kiss'd by Magee. †

---

* Tune, La Poule.

† It need scarcely be said, that the name is merely chosen for the sake of the rhyme.

Each pebble is kiss'd by the mountain stream,
Each flower is kiss'd by the bee;
The rocks are kiss'd by the evening gleam,
And Kitty is kiss'd by Magee.

The roaring wind is kissing aloud
The leaves of each bending tree;
Yon mountain is kiss'd by the fleecy cloud,
And Kitty is kiss'd by Magee.

And when the lips are rosy and red,
With kisses and honey they must be fed;
Or else they grow shrivell'd and wither-ed,
Like a rose in the month of November.

No. 5.

If any members of a proscribed Church should flatter themselves, that the great political measure, which is looked to as the means of consolidating the British empire, by removing the only existing cause of discontent, would have the effect of exalting their creed, and humbling that of their opponents,—they may be informed of their mistake in this manner:—

Have you not seen, in harvest weather,
When eddying blasts contend together,

The straw or stubble raised on high
Maintain its station in the sky?—
Men gaze with wonder from afar,
To see it float on seas of air,
Like a portent;—but when the strife,
That raised the atom into life,
Subsides,—it falls upon the plain,
And dwindles into straw again.
Now, while internal discord reigns,
And faction revels o'er our plains,—
Your church is founded on a rock,
And every priest can guard his flock
From reason, argument, and thought,
As if his God were Jaggernaut.

But when just rights are freely given
To all who raise their eyes to Heaven,—
The men who now their Church on high
See planted by the Deity,
Who forfeit every earthly good
To prove a wafer flesh and blood,
Will care no more for book or bell,
Or Hohenlohe, or J. K. L.,
Than frogs did for the log of wood,
When they perceived 'twas not a god.

If a few indiscreet members of the Church in question should so far forget and overlook the causes of their strength, and the causes of their

weakness, as to treat the reformed religion as a rash and unreasonable innovation, they may be temperately admonished in a few lines like these:—

My reverend friends, emancipation
To other views will turn the nation,
And leave you every one as bare
As Sampson when he lost his hair:
No more will your pared nails be sold,
Relics of saints! for beaten gold;
Nor sick bequeath their children's bread
To purchase masses for the dead:
Nor will the pure and simple maid,
Confessing in the secret shade,
Pour her first feelings on your ear,
Not dreaming of a tempter near,
Till all is ask'd, and all is given,
As the best means of earning Heaven.
But every prating Miss from school,
With bible in her reticule,
Will argue doctrine with you all,
Like any Evangelical:
And men will rail and talk as foully,
Of every one of you, as of Crowly,*
Asking each other with surprise,
What ophthalmy had dimm'd their eyes,

* A noted renegade.

That they should e'er such difference see
" 'Twixt tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee."

No. 6.

Want of respect for age is one of those vices which has arisen in modern times, in spite of the influence of the Christian religion. It was unknown to the pagans.

If an aged statesman employs his remaining energies in increasing the happiness of that race on whom he should look, like a patriarch upon his descendants, every well-constituted mind must regard him with that feeling of respect approaching to reverence, which an affectionate child bestows upon a declining parent. But if he exhibits himself as the buttress of that tottering fabric of the feudal ages, which is mouldering under the gradual corrosion of light and intelligence; if he combats every inch of ground with the friends of happiness and freedom, and only can be brought to yield a point in favour of the people of one region, when paid for it by the continued degradation of his own

fellow-subjects;—then the age of such a statesman can be no shield against the popular hatred, and he may be freely treated like any of those his predecessors, who stand marked in history by a pre-eminence conferred upon them by the indignation of a suffering people.

Men every day assail my ear,
With—" A., you 're in your eightieth year:
Read o'er your speeches and decrees
Of twenty years ago, and these
Which you pronounced the other day,
And then upon your conscience say,
Whether you now resemble even
The man to whom the seals were given."

" As to my speeches and decrees,
If better those, or better these,
I know not: but of this I 'm sure,
That while these living limbs endure,
No other shall pronounce decree,
Or rule their Lordships' house, but me."

If it should be the case, that a man like him described in the preceding page was employed by a party to thwart the views, and nullify the beneficial measures, of some of the most enlightened

men that ever sat in the council of a nation, he may be represented thus:

He was the damp, that wastes unseen
The powder of the magazine;
The hollow lodgment in the wall,
That makes the stately building fall;
The rot within the massive beam,
The chegar in the manly limb,
The air-hole in the solid piston
That baffles you, when you insist on
All that your calculations shŏw
The steam-engine has power to do;
And with whatever strength we find
A secret weakening cause combined,
That neutralizes half its force,
And checks it in its onward course
By influence oblique and sinister,—
We feel its likeness to this Minister!—

If he should pride himself upon that technical knowledge of his profession, which will be as little regarded by posterity as the entities and quiddities of the schoolmen are by the existing race, (for the laws of civilised nations will at length be rendered accessible to reason,) he may be thus allowed his full merit.

He understood his mill, 'tis true,
As well as miller-man could do;
Knew every cog of every wheel,
Could tell a burr-stone by the feel
If it would grind ten pecks of flour,
Or more or less, within the hour:
But for enlarged and general view
Of what his stock and plant could do,
If placed in an improved condition
By an enlightened mechanician,
The narrow tradesman knew no more
Than the poor pack-horse at his door:
Still he was known an honest man,
Who pilfer'd neither meal nor bran,
But ground a pint for every one,
Doing the job complete for none,
Lest his opponents should deny
His strict impartiality;—
And so it never could be said
How soon the wheat were fit for bread;
For when the pint was ground, he 'd say,
"The mill can go no more to-day,"
And for the following month the turn
Belong'd to other people's corn;
So that, while waiting for their meal,
Poor folks were often driven to steal,
Who never thought of doing ill,
Before connexion with the mill:—
But 'twas no matter—want or guilt,
The lord would let no mill be built

Within the round of his domains,
Lest it might check this miller's gains.

The time, however, will come when narrow-minded statesmen must retire, if not to the dignified tranquillity of private life, at least quò Numa et Ancus went before them; and as the rising race have minds constructed on the modern model, it will not be competent even to narrow kings (if such should reign) to appoint successors to the principles of the defunct. The moss-covered oak buildings of our ancestors, when they tumble, must be replaced by brick-work and masonry; for the models of the old dwelling no longer exist.

Oft do we see in mighty state,
When narrow statesman 's torn by fate
From off his suffering country's breast,
Which like an Incubus he prest,
The counsels of a master-mind,
No more by compromise confined,
Like the awaken'd martlet soar,
And reach where they aspired before:
The patient starts from off her couch,

As if by talismanic touch ;
Soon do the struggling currents fly
To every vein and artery,
Where'er his country's flag 's unfurl'd
The Saviour's name through all the world
Is pœan'd by the brave and free,
Exulting in their liberty ;
And when his earthly work is done,
And moulder'd e'en his sculptured stone,
His acts become the patriot's theme,
The liberal statesman's midnight dream ;
And freemen teach their baby sons
To name him in their orisons.

The change which would arise from the retirement of such a minister as him alluded to, and from the extinction of his influence, can only be compared to the sudden burst of vegetation which follows the melting of the snow in Hyperborean regions.

Have you been ever in or near
The region of the northern Bear,
When winter's iron reign is done,
And earth first opens to the sun ?—
If not, 'twere vain by words to try
To place before your mental eye,

How every grateful plant and flower
Springs from the moss the very hour
That frost withdraws his icy hand,
And leaves the sun to rule the land.
No less the change that met the eye
Of resident or passer-by,
&c. &c. &c. &c. &c.

The two integral parts of the British Empire, which must stand or fall together, and which, when cordially united, could maintain a position against the world, like two gallant comrades, standing back to back in the midst of the enemy, may then be described thus:—

They seem'd like heir and younger brother;
Taught to support and love each other
By the enlarged paternal mind,
That knows their faculties combined,
(Differing as body does from soul,)
Will form at last a glorious whole
Of parts unlike, on Nature's plan,
As clay and spirit make a man:
But if the powers of either brother
Were unsupported by the other,
No more would be their force and merit
Than of the separate clay and spirit,
When the great chemist's pleasure 'tis
To work his dread analysis.

CONCLUSION.

THE foregoing pages have been intended to give the young politician a little insight into the nature of his profession, and to show him the mode of handling his tools: nothing has been said about the conduct of his understanding. In concluding, it is thought right to direct his attention seriously to the following considerations.

So long as it was possible to keep the body of a nation in total ignorance, political institutions could be established, overthrown, and modified, according to the pleasure of whomsoever happened to be invested with the power of the sword, — whether legitimate king, popular tribune, or victorious captain; and in the Eastern portion of the globe, this is the case in the present time. But since the art of printing, and the commercial intercourse of the European states, have deprived governments of the

power of maintaining popular delusion, opinions have taken place of the sword; and whatever struggle may arise from the reluctance of this formidable ruler to yield to its flimsy competitor, it is nevertheless in the nature of things, that opinions will finally triumph, and all the waste of human happiness, and the effusion of blood which must attend the wars maintained in opposition to them, will be "en pure perte."

If a young man set out in life professing the doctrines of a benighted age, and lending his support to those who delude him into the belief, that what he opposes is an innovation, and will pass away with the season, he will doom himself to that state of suffering which attends the alternative of acting against the judgment and the conscience, or of appearing to be a renegade by renouncing his early sentiments. He will in the course of nature be left by those elder politicians, who now support him by their countenance and example; and he will remain amongst his opponents, an isolated object of sneer and sarcasm, as a disciple of those, whose opinions have disappeared from the political

world, as the dreams of the alchemists have from that of science.

Let him look considerately around him.—What growing and strengthening opinion has ever yet been ultimately extinguished by opposition?—Has the reformed religion yielded to force?—the spirit of colonial independence?—the desire of civil equality?—the wish for representative government?—Do we not observe that the leaders of the opposition to all those latter opinions, are now studying only how to retreat with honour?

At the period when Napoleon was about to leave Paris for his last Austrian war, he reviewed in the square of the Carousel one of the most brilliant assemblages of troops that had ever been collected in Europe. He spent many hours enjoying the effect of his word, or look, in transforming into its various shapes, this mighty instrument of dominion over the nations opposed to his will. A witness of the scene relates, that a little dry old man in a rusty wig came near him, and whispered in his ear thus:—"Do you see a little bird flitting about the square, and passing in between those

columns, and battalions, and squadrons of horse?" "I see no bird," said the man. "But I do, clearly," replied the other, "and it is that little bird which will soon overthrow the columns, and the squadrons, and the mind that now directs them." —"What do you mean?" said his companion— "I mean," replied he, "that public opinion, in the shape of a little bird, is now flitting between all these military masses, and will, before long, be able to subdue both them and their master." After such a speech, he was soon lost in the crowd, and could never be recognised again by his casual acquaintance.

After the young member has reflected upon the futility of the opposition to the leading opinions of the day, let him observe the changes of the arguments employed by their opponents, from the beginning of their hostility to the present time. —Do the speakers rely upon their former reasons? Do they grow strong by the agreement between their speculations, and the course of events? Do they silence their opponents by referring to the former declarations of both? Or rather, do they not

abandon every position in succession, and endeavour to avoid a surrender, by temporary evasions?

A young man who begins a career of public life, will naturally attach himself to the chariot of him who directs it in the path of fame and glory, and whose progress is cheered by the acclamations and applause of the assembled multitude. It would be as reasonable to prefer the Margate hoy to the steam-boat, as to adhere to the exclusive doctrines of exploded statesmen, when the reason of mankind has declared in favour of their rivals.

THE END.

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